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THE LIFE

AND

PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

JOHN SHERMAN.

By BEN: PERLEY POORE.

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JOHN SHERMAN'S paternal ancestors emigrated from Essex County, in old England, to Massachusetts and Connecticut, in New England, at the time when those colonies rose suddenly, like the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, into full-grown strength—not, however, armed, like those fabulous warriors, with weapons for their own destruction, but with the virtues, the vigor and the intelligence of the Anglo-Saxon race.

His grandfather, Taylor Sherman, of Norwalk, Connecticut, was an accomplished scholar and an able jurist, who received a seat on the Bench, and who was a commissioner of the Fire-lands settlements, when, in 1805, he went to Ohio to arrange some disputed boundary questions. While engaged in this service, he became personally interested in tracts of land, located in Sherman Township, Huron County; but he returned to Connecticut, where he died in 1815. He married, early in life, Elizabeth Stoddard, a lineal descendant of Anthony Stoddard, who emigrated from England to Boston in 1639. She was a sincere and honest woman, devoted to her husband and her children, and lived to a good old age, dying in Ohio about 1848. Charles Robert Sherman, their son (the father of John Sherman), was born and brought up at Norwalk, Connecticut, where he, in due time, commenced the study of the law in the office of his father, who was then associated with Judge Chapman. He was admitted to the Bar in 1810, and on the 10th of May of that year he married Mary Hoyt, also of Norwalk, who had grown up with him from childhood. She was a steadfast, true-hearted woman, devoted to her family and beloved by her friends. A few months after his marriage he went to Ohio in search of a home, leaving his wife in Connecticut. He arrived at Lancaster, on his way to Cincinnati, and was so much pleased with the place and the people that he concluded to remain there. Receiving a cordial welcome, he was soon engrossed in the practice of his profession. The following season his wife came to him across the Alleghanies on horseback, carrying her infant child (afterward Judge Charles T. Sherman) on a pillow strapped before her saddle. It was a long and dreary road, beset with hardships, but Mrs. Sherman was fortunate in having as companions a considerable party of emigrants from her native region, who sought on the western slope of the Alleghanies a new home.

Cheered by the presence of his wife and child, Charles Robert Sherman rapidly rose to eminence as an eloquent advocate, and as a judicious, reliable counselor. His professional character was spotless, and while he would refuse clients, when his conscience would not permit him to screen their wrong-doings, he was always ready to plead the cause of the innocent and oppressed without reward. While devoted to his profession, he extended his reading beyond his law books, and was generally versed in the literature of the day. He was a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity, and filled the highest offices in the grand bodies of that order in Ohio.

During the pioneer years of Ohio, tradition records that its lawyers were obliged to travel over extensive circuits in practicing their profession. They were accustomed to accompanying the courts from county to county, and in this way to traverse a large extent of country. Those early days also commemorated the warmest personal friendships in the profession, as its members were forced into the most intimate companionship. They rode together on horseback, their saddle-bags stuffed with briefs, documents, law books, clothing, and generally some creature delectation also. They were exposed in common to the same inclemencies and impediments of travel; they lodged together at the same taverns, eat at the same tables and slept in the same rooms, generally two in the same bed. Manly, jovial, and free-hearted, after a hard fought day of professional antagonisms in court, they would crowd the evening hours with social amenities, winged with wit and merriment, with pathos, sentiment and song.

In 1823, Mr. Charles R. Sherman was elected by the Legislature of Ohio to the Bench of the Supreme Court; and perhaps the only man in the State who doubted his ability for this high position was himself. He expressed fears that he lacked the ripe experience of years necessary to hear and determine cases of magnitude in a court of last resort; but he fully realized the large expectations of his professional friends and the public. His written opinions, published in Hammond's Reports of the Supreme Court of Ohio, demonstrated a mind of the choicest legal capabilities. They are clear, compact, comprehensive and conclusive, and have since been respected by the Bar and the courts in Ohio and other States as judical opinions of the highest authority. Judge Sherman won upon the Bench, as he had at the Bar, the affection and confidence of his professional associates. They esteemed him for his gentle and genial ways, for the brilliant flashes of his mind, and the solid strength of his judgment; and, above all, for the stainless integrity of his character as a judge and as a man. The Supreme Court was then, under the provisions of the constitution, required to hold an annual term in each county of the State, two of the judges officiating. In every court room in Ohio where Judge Sherman presided he made friends. His official robes were worn by him as the customary habiliments, and he was never haughty, austere, or overbearing on the bench. He had thus entered upon the sixth year of his official term, in the full fruition of his matured, intellectual powers, and in the enjoyment of apparently robust physical health, when, as he was about to hold a session of the Supreme Court at Lebanon, he was suddenly, and without any premonition, stricken down with a fatal malady. The best medical aid was promptly summoned from Cincinnati, but in vain. A messenger hastened to Lancaster for Mrs. Sherman, but before she could reach Lebanon her husband had breathed his last. He died on the 24th of June, 1829, in the forty-first year of his age.

Mrs. Sherman was thus left a widow with eleven children. The oldest, Chas. T. Sherman, eighteen years of age, was then at college, and the youngest was an infant, about a month old. Her means were limited; her husband never having accumulated much property, and she had to depend upon what she had inherited from her father. Kind friends came to her assistance in her bereavement and took charge of the oldest children. Mr. Thomas Ewing, a neighbor and friend of the deceased, adopted the third son, William Tecumseh, and procured his appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he was trained for his great services in upholding the Union and bearing its flag in triumph "from mountains to the sea."

John Sherman, the eighth child, was only six years of age when his father died, and when the happy domestic circle was suddenly broken. His recollections are of the gradual scattering of the family, until only four children remained at home with their mother, and in due time he also left. A cousin of his father, named John Sherman, a merchant at Mount Vernon, who was recently married, took the fatherless lad home with him in the spring of 1831, and he remained with him four years, attending school constantly, with the exception of occasional visits to his home. Many pleasant incidents of his life at Mount Vernon are remembered by the oldest citizens and by himself. The schools were very good, and his progress was rapid and satisfactory, but, according to the traditions, he was rather a wild and reckless boy, always in the lead in mischief and sport, of which some amusing anecdotes are told. At the age of twelve he returned to Lancaster, with a view to going to Mr. Howe's Academy, then a rather famous school. He attended that institution constantly for two years, at the end of which time he was far enough advanced to have entered the sophomore class at college.

At that time (the spring of 1837), through the influence of Charles Sherman, he was tendered a position by Colonel Curtis, as junior rod-man on the Muskingum improvement, and gladly availed himself of the chance to make his own way in the world. He was then fourteen years old, tall and strong, more like a lad of sixteen or seventeen, and advanced in his studies—being well versed in most branches of mathematics, knowing a little Latin, and having studied the other branches necessary for his preparation for college. Two things stood in his way: First, the want of means; and second, his earnest desire to be independent and to relieve his friends of all care on his account. During his ride in a stage-coach from Lancaster to Zanesville and thence to McConnellsville, he enjoyed the sense of freedom and independence with all the hopes and anticipations of the future. At Mansfield he met Colonel Curtis for the first time; was received very heartily, and at once made at home in his family and among his acquaintances. After a few days he was ordered to report to the Engineer Corps—then engaged in preparations for the Muskingum improvement. The long walk of sixteen miles which he took one summer's afternoon with James L. Love, now the United States District Judge of Iowa, was thought little of at the start, but was considered afterward as about the hardest day's work of his life, as up to that time he had never undertaken to walk so far. They arrived, fatigued and worn-out, and joined the corps then camping in tents where the day's work left them; but as the country around was thickly populated, the nights were usually spent in visiting the neighboring farmers, who were kind and hospitable. As Sherman and Love were new-comers, they had not been invited out, when on the second night at their camp, as they were

alone, a sudden storm came up, blew their tent down, drenched them with rain, and left them in a sorry plight for the rest of the night.

After the work was carried to maturity, the corps was divided among the different stations where locks or canals were to be constructed. Sherman was stationed at Lowell as junior rod-man for Assistant Engineer Coffinbury. In the spring of 1838, by the resignation of the officer in charge of the work at Beverly, Sherman was temporarily placed in charge and there remained during the rest of his service on the improvement. This necessarily devolved on him a considerable responsibility, including the measurement of excavations, embankments and stone materials, the necessary leveling for a lock to the canal, and a great variety of business growing out of the construction of a work that was to cost about $300,000. Mr. Sherman has always regarded the responsibility thus thrown upon him, and the necessary diligence and care in performing the duties assigned to him, as a better education than any he could possibly have had elsewhere in the same time. It taught him to study accuracy in details and close attention to business, and inspired self-confidence. In the severest months of winter, work was necessarily suspended, especially in the construction of the dam, and in laying the masonry of the lock. He was thus left a month or two of leisure in the winter of 1838-39. This he endeavored to occupy by a salt speculation, which was for a long time a subject of joke among his kindred and friends. He purchased a lot of salt and loaded it on a scow, intending to float with it and three or four men down the river to Cincinnati. The prospects of the speculation were very good, as salt was high at Cincinnati and low in Muskingum, but, unluckily, within one day's float of the mouth of the river Sherman's boat was frozen up tight and remained there two months, until the season passed by and left him a loser instead of a gainer. He, however, when the river permitted, went to Cincinnati, where his brother Lampson P. Sherman lived, as a member of the family of the somewhat famous Charles Hammond, then the editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. He there spent a week or two in the usual enjoyment of youths of his age, and had many long rambles about Cincinnati.

In the fall of 1838, the Whigs, who had been in power, were suddenly thrown out by the election, and during the following winter a new Board of Public Works commenced the common policy of making changes in the employes on the public works. Colonel Curtis, whose politics were well known, was removed from his position in the spring of 1839, simply because he was a Whig. His subordinates were not changed for a time; but, as a sense of their gratitude to Colonel Curtis, most of them signed a letter expressing their confidence in him and their regret at the official separation. Some of these young men who signed this paper were Democrats, and others were Whigs; but the letter was construed as an offense by Captain Wall, a member of the Board of Public Works, in charge of the improvement, and all who had signed the letter were summarily turned out. So, in the summer of 1839, young Sherman was removed from his humble position, because he was a Whig.

Although but sixteen years of age, John Sherman was by birth and training an active, earnest Whig boy; and, without much knowledge of the dispute between parties, he was without doubt as honest in his opinions as many grown people who knew more of the subject-matter.

Upon being thus ousted, he returned to Lancaster and made up his mind to study law; but, before doing so, his earnest desire was to go to college and complete a regular course. During his servicein the Engineer Corps he had improved

himself by reading, by reviewing his studies, and by contact with men; so that he could readily enter the junior year; and that was his wish, but, unfortunately, no pecuniary means were available. Some of his kindred had been embarrassed by the revulsions of the panic of 1837, and most of them were too poor to aid, and he was too proud to seek aid from others; so that, after a winter of rather listless study at Lancaster, upon the invitation of his brother Charles, he determined to go to Mansfield to study law, keeping the hope of entering college in reserve.

Charles Sherman was then a good lawyer, in active practice, mostly as a commercial lawyer in the collection of debts of Eastern merchants, unmarried, and nearly thirty years of age. John was just nineteen, tall, strong and active. Mansfield was then a village of 1100 inhabitants, in its earliest stage of growth, without pavements or other improvements, in the midst of a country which had been settled less than thirty years, but which was rapidly becoming peopled with good farmers, most of whom were of Pennsylvania descent and Democratic politics. It was known as the "Berks of Ohio," from its very large Democratic majorities. As a matter of course, any political ambition was entirely out of the question; and was fortunate for the young man that it was so for many years. John Sherman's uncle, Jacob Parker, an old, well educated lawyer and a man of influence, lived in Mansfield and took great interest in his nephew's progress. He constantly aided and directed him in his course of studies. After he had read Blackstone and Kent, he was set at work on Coke upon Littleton, and kept three months at this driest of books, being frequently examined as to his progress. Judge Parker was a great lover of the Law of Tenures and of ancient English law. Soon afterward (while young Sherman was still a student), he became a judge of the common pleas court, and continued so until a short time before his death.

While studying law young Sherman regularly prepared the pleadings, and did a good amount of the office business of his brother, practiced before justices of the peace, prosecuted a great variety of business, and after the first year was entirely self-supporting, and lost all interest in his former desire to complete a collegiate course.

The bar at Mansfield was then considered a very able one—as much so as any in Ohio. James Stewart, T. W. Bartley, Jacob Brinkerhoff, were then active practitioners, and all of them were subsequently judges of the higher courts; and a number of other lawyers of very respectable standing contested with them. Quite a large number of law students were then in Mansfield, among whom were Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood and Hon. W. B. Allison, now United States Senators from Iowa; Frank Barker, and others who were admitted to the bar and attained distinction. These younger lawyers organized themselves into a moot court, which for a year or two was very useful, but finally broke up. The four years of life spent as a law student, though longer than necessary, was still not without its value. Under the laws of Ohio young Sherman was compelled to wait until he was twenty-one years of age before he could be admitted, and impatiently did so, as he was prepared for admission before, and was restrained from engaging in practice before the court until the day of boyish emancipation came. Those who knew him then, speak of him as having a quiet, determined manner, and once started in a direction he could not be turned aside until he had succeeded, or satisfied himself beyond a doubt that he was not working to a successful result. He had no bad habits or evil companions, but gave his whole mind and attention to his professional studies. While not a jovial companion, in the usual acceptance of the term, he was always genial and affable to all, and seemed more desirous of winning friendship through respect than establishing a reputation for good fellowship.

Mr. Sherman was admitted to the bar on the 11th of May, 1844, at Springfield, Ohio, and he at once entered into partnership with his brother (Charles T.) at Mansfield. From that time forward he was constantly, actively and profitably employed in the practice of his profession, until he was elected a member of Congress in 1854. Incessant in his application to business, conciliatory in his deportment, and identified with the people of Mansfield and the surrounding section, he soon occupied a high position in the courts. His oratorical powers were not of that old Roman school of declamation which was practiced by the Revolutionary fathers and their immediate descendants; but he argued his cases after a plain, blunt, straight-forward style, which secured him the attention of the court and won the confidence of the jury at the outset. His conversational manner gave freshness and vigor to his legal arguments, as though his thoughts were spontaneous, and he was quietly drawing all the law and the facts from the case of his client. Occasionally, when deeply interested, he would speak with wonderful rapidity, and although he was at times sarcastic, his words never carried a venomous sting. To work was apparently Mr. Sherman's ambition, and he succeeded. He not only studied with great care all cases in which he was retained, searching industriously for decisions bearing upon them, but he kept himself read up in the legal literature of the day. He also prosecuted his general reading, especially upon the great public questions of the period, and endeavored to ascertain the wishes of the people around him concerning them. No obstacle was ever permitted to remain in his way; and this, if we may believe Abraham Lincoln, is a family trait. When a revolt took place in the earlier part of the war for the suppression of the rebellion, and General William Tecumseh Sherman subdued it, one of the officers complained to President Lincoln that the General had been very severe in his language, and had said, if a similar disorder took place again, one of the old regiments should fire on the regiment of recruits that was so disorderly. The officer asked Lincoln whether he didn't think that severe. "Well," said Mr. Lincoln, "don't you trust those Shermans; they are so apt to do just as they say they will." The citizens of Mansfield found that their young lawyer, when he undertook to do anything, was very apt to do it.

While Mr. Sherman had been a student, the building and the growth of railroads had been commenced—three of them being constructed, within a short period, through Richland county, of which Mansfield is the county-seat. The first was the road from Mansfield to Sandusky, now a part of the Baltimore and Ohio Road. It was a flat-bar, illy constructed railroad, but was the best kind then thought of, and answered the purpose of a forerunner to those which followed. It was at times dangerous to ride on it on account of the "snake-heads" or rails, which, by the weight of the cars, would be bent upward and forced through the cars. Mr. Sherman was the attorney for this road; attended to its business and assessed the damages for roadway. So strong was the popular current in favor of railroads that the damages assessed on twenty miles of the road were only $2,000, and most damages assessed on a farm were at the rate of one cent. It was considered unpatriotic and illiberal to demand any damage at all. Some years after the construction of this imperfect road, the Cleveland and Columbus Road was built through the northern part of the county; while the Pittsburgh and Ft. Wayne Road was built through Mansfield and a rapid growth of the town immediately followed, bringing with it a large increase of profitable business to lawyers and others.

Shortly after Mr. Sherman was admitted to the bar his mother removed from her own home at Lancaster to Mansfield, where she and her two younger daughters

kept house for him, and where she remained until her death in 1852, after her children were all married. In the winter of 1846-47, Mr. Sherman made his first visit to Washington, remaining near a month, during which time he became acquainted with most of the men of the day, and especially with Mr. Douglass, then a prominent Democratic leader, who treated him with great kindness, and who, but for his politics, would have won his hearty support. His recollections of this visit are quite vivid, and are carefully preserved in a series of interesting letters which he wrote to personal friends at home.

In the spring of 1848 Mr. Sherman was selected by the Congressional district in which he lived as a delegate to the National Convention to be held at Philadelphia. When the convention was being organized, upon motion of Colonel Collyer, he was made a Secretary of the body by the jocular remark that there was a young man there from the State of Ohio who lived in a district so strongly Democratic that he never could hope to get an office unless that convention gave him one, and with the laugh that this created Mr. Sherman advanced to his position. Mr. Defrees, now Public Printer, said there was a young man from Indiana in precisely the same situation, and moved that Schuyler Colfax be made Assistant Secretary. Colfax and Sherman walked up to the stand together. The position of the delegates at Philadelphia was one of high responsibility—each man had doubtless his sectional pride and personal feelings to influence him; but there was an overruling consideration. The enemy was in possession of the Capital—under whom could a change be effected? who was there with pure integrity, tried patriotism, high abilities and known principles, who could rally the Whig forces and inspire them with confidence? The convention followed the example of the ancient Romans and sought an American Cincinnatus, whose disinterested virtues, simplicity of manners and long public services had won for him a reputation which in the hour of peril filled the hearts of his countrymen and sent them to seek him in his tranquil home to offer him the chief command of the Republic. The history of his life, as inscribed on the records of his country, was his recommendation; and they selected him because they knew him by his deeds and felt positive that a civic wreath would be added to the victorious crown of him who "never surrendered."

Mr. Sherman cordially supported the nomination and canvassed a portion of Ohio for him. "Old Zack" lost that State, but he was elected President and occupied the White House. During that same summer (on the 30th of August) Mr. Sherman was married to Miss Cecilia Stewart, the only child of Judge Stewart, of Mansfield, who came there from Western Pennsylvania. She is a lady of rare accomplishments, and capable of filling any social position, but domestic in her tastes, a thorough house-wife, and kind to the poor and needy.

During the winter of 1848-49 the excitement about the discovery of gold in California became very strong. The first clear account received in Ohio was in a letter from Captain, now General Sherman, to his brother John, in which he stated clearly and at length the history of the discovery and its effect upon affairs in California. Mr. Sherman has this letter in his possession, and, in view of subsequent events, it is very interesting.

In the spring of 1849, Mr. Sherman built his house at Mansfield. It is a plain, brick edifice, with a corner porch as seen from the front, and has since been remodeled by the addition of a mansard roof. This porch, in summer, is the Secretary's favorite resting-place; and up under the roof is his library and

study. The house is surrounded by well-kept grounds, ornamented with a variety of shade trees, through which a broad drive way leads up to the entrance.

For years Mr. Sherman was very actively employed in the common country law practice of Ohio in those days. He rode the circuits of several counties, attended the courts, tried cases, collected debts; and, besides, transacted a variety of miscellaneous business. While he was a public-spirited and generous citizen, and far removed from any smallness in money matters, he enjoyed the reputation of being a shrewd financier, who never made a mistake in his calculations concerning investments. It is stated, by one who knew him well, that he made it a rule, early in life, to lay aside at least $500 each year, and to regulate his expenditures in conformity with that determination. He never failed to do it; and when he saw this safely invested, then he used more—if there was more—for pleasure, or was more liberal in personal expenditures. About six years after he commenced the practice of law, he embarked in the manufacture—then new to that part of Ohio—of flooring, doors, sashes, blinds and other wood-work used in house-building. This investment was a profitable one, yielding him a handsome profit for a number of successive years.

In the Whig Convention of Ohio, held in 1850, Mr. Sherman took an active stand in favor of General Scott as the next Whig candidate for President, and made a speech which at that time was thought to have had great influence in directing public opinion in Ohio toward him. It was so well received that a proposition was made to nominate Mr. Sherman for Attorney-General; but the Committee thought proper to renominate Henry Stanbury. It has been previously stated that John Sherman was a Whig boy; and as he grew older he became more wedded to the principles of Washington and Hamilton, John Marshall, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—principles that will live and illustrate the history of this country and of constitutional liberty through all coming time. The Whig party was eventually broken up by unscrupulous politicians; but its choicest principles were preserved and embedded into the creed of the Republican party. Those who had advocated them still assert with pride their title to the appellation of "an Old Whig."

In the summer of 1852 Mr. Sherman was elected by the State Convention a Senatorial delegate to the National Convention to be held at Baltimore. He attended that enthusiastic and able gathering, where he warmly supported General Scott, who was nominated. He advocated the selection of this old hero, not merely for his distinguished military services, but for his eminent qualities as a civilian, his honesty as a man, his integrity as a citizen, and his devotion to the Union, in defense of which he had poured out his life's blood, and for the perpetuation of which he had pledged "his life, his fortune and his sacred honor." Returning to Ohio Mr. Sherman participated in the canvass, but with very unsatisfactory results. While the election was pending he heard of the sudden death of his mother, and relinquishing his remaining appointments he returned home to Mansfield.

In the winter of 1853-54, Mr. Sherman opened a law office in Cleveland, with the intention of removing there at some future time; but the proposition then pending to repeal the Missouri Compromise, excited the greatest agitation and alarm throughout the State—greater than has been known at any period since. It shook all parties to their foundation. The bad policy of the movement, its want of faith, its threatened danger for the future, created a profound impression

upon public opinion, and upon Mr. Sherman's own mind as well. Up to hat time he had been what might be called a conservative Whig; anxious to avoid all discussions about slavery; feeling that it was wrong, indefensible, and ought to be abolished, but believing it was protected by the Constitution, and, therefore, ought not to be assailed. This proposed repeal convinced him that the contest between freedom and slavery must come; that it was unavoidable, and that the proper and true way was to enter the lists. *First*, upon the ground that in no event should slavery derive any benefit from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and, *Second*, that it should as rapidly as possible be abolished in all the Territories of the United States. When the Congressional Anti-Nebraska Convention, as it was called, met, composed of those who had been members of the Democratic, the Whig, and the Free Soil parties, great difficulty existed in forming a fusion of opposing elements, jealous of each other. The choice finally fell upon Mr. Sherman, who was then but thirty-one years of age; and while a prominent Whig, was not so prominent as to be subject to bitter hostility from opposing factions. There was a good deal of feeling in the northern counties of the district because he was not up to their standard of opinion on the slavery question; but his personal canvass through the district tended to dissipate these fears, and he was elected, receiving 8,617 votes against 5,794 votes for Wm. D. Lindsley, who then represented the district in Congress.

Mr. Sherman attended and was President of the first Ohio Republican State Convention, in 1855, which nominated Salmon P. Chase for Governor, and participated in the organization of the great Republican party, which was at once progressive, yet prudent; radical, yet conservative; neither afraid of the new because it was new, nor contemptuous of the old because it was old. His acuteness of intellect, indefatigable industry and wisdom, which is master of his temper, gave him a commanding position in the ranks of the new political movement, and since that time his life has been a part of the public life of the country.

Mr. Sherman took his seat in the House of Representatives of the Thirty-fourth Congress on the third of December, 1855, six years before the war—six years of political strife, of civil commotion, ripening into open rebellion, which formed an eventful career in our political history. Those who were meditating the establishment of a new empire, based upon the enslavement of the African race, were menacing, bitter and uncompromising; while, affiliated with them by party ties, though not in sympathy, were Cass, Douglass, and other northern Democrats, who vainly struggled against the current of events. Among the great questions debated during these six years were: the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Dred-Scott Decision, the Imposition of Slavery upon Kansas, the Fugitive Slave Law, the national expenditures and receipts, grave questions of finance, and other kindred measures involving the very existence of the Republic.

Mr. Sherman brought with him into the halls of the National House of Representatives, at the commencement of the discussion of these vital questions, the habits of business, and of patient labor and of thorough investigation which his early training had given him; and he very soon acquired the respect of all his associates and the confidence of his political friends in no ordinary degree. He often participated in debate, and by his full comprehension of the subject, the result of careful and dispassionate examination, and by his familiar acquaintance with public affairs, rose rapidly in reputation. A good speaker, a clear thinker, and a logical reasoner, his strong point was in the proportion of his

faculties to each other, which made him, without being an extraordinary man in any one particular, equal to the greatest occasion, and to every difficulty. In times of unexampled excitement and difficulties, he conducted himself with such dignity that he impressed all who approached him with profound respect, and yet inspired all with affection, esteem and confidence; and to this end he united a firm fidelity to his principles, his party and friends, which was proof against all changes and disasters, combining the *fortiter in re* with the *suaviter in modo*. His bitterest political foes were disarmed by his calm and philosophical bearing; and his best friends shrank from all attempts to sway him from the path of duty, from his honest convictions, and from his loyalty to the Union.

There was a fierce and protracted struggle attending the election of Speaker when Mr. Sherman took his seat, and on the ninety-ninth ballot he gave his reasons for voting for General Banks, as follows:

"I care not whether he is a member of the American party or not: I have been informed that he is, and I believe that he is; but, I repeat, I care not to what party he belongs, I understand him to take this position—that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an act of great dishonor, and that under no circumstances whatever will he, if he have the power, allow the institution of human slavery to derive any benefit from that repeal. That is my position! I have been a Whig, but I will yield all party preferences, and will act in concert with men of all parties and opinions who will steadily aid in preserving our western territories for free labor; and I say now that I never will vote for a man for Speaker of this House unless he convinces me by his conduct and by his views that he never will, if he has the power to prevent it, allow the institution of slavery to derive any advantage from repealing the compromise of 1820."

A variety of resolutions were introduced, as the balloting for Speaker was continued, propounding interrogatories as to the political opinions of the several candidates. Mr. Sherman finally introduced one which read thus: "*Resolved*, That the only tests of the opinions of any candidate for public office are his votes and acts; and that no man ought to occupy the high position of Speaker of this House whose opinions upon important political questions are so unknown that it is necessary to examine him as a witness."

Kansas had meanwhile become a battle-ground between the advocates of slavery from the South and the opponents of it from the free States, each faction hoping to secure the ascendancy. A state of violence amounting to actual civil war ensued, and numbers were killed in guerrilla contests. Rival State governments were established, each with its constitution, Governor and Legislature, while acts of horrible atrocity were committed by organized bands of "Border Ruffians," who roamed about the country plundering, and often murdering peaceable and unoffending settlers. The matter became so serious that the House of Representatives passed a resolution on the 19th of March, authorizing the appointment of a committee of three by the Speaker, to inquire into and collect evidence in regard to the troubles in Kansas generally, and particularly in regard to any fraud or force attempted or practiced in relation to any of the elections which had taken place in that Territory. The appointment of Mr. Sherman as a member of that Kansas Investigating Committee was a turning-point in his political career. It came to him very unexpectedly when he was on his way from Mansfield to Washington. He received a telegram at Pittsburg that Speaker Banks had announced his appointment, and that it was extremely important that he should go at once, and without returning to Washington, so he started for Kansas accompanied by Mrs. Sherman. The Commit-

tee was composed of Mr. Howard of Michigan, Chairman, Mr. Oliver of Missouri, and Mr. Sherman. It was understood that Mr. Sherman was appointed by Speaker Banks because he was a lawyer fresh from practice, familiar with the modes of taking testimony, and sufficiently industrious to apply himself to it. Mr. Howard was in feeble health, and it was feared that he would not be able to bear the fatigue of great labor. The Committee met at St. Louis, and then proceeded by river to Kansas City, accompanied by five or six persons as clerks, stenographers or sergeants-at-arms. Their arrival created great excitement. They proceeded at once to Lawrence, and commenced taking testimony. The state of society in Kansas was novel to Mr. Sherman, who for the first time found himself in the presence of men armed and ready for fighting. Under the patronage of the New England Emigration Society, a body of able and brave men from that section of the Union, together with active spirits from the then Western States, were determined to maintain their right to establish a free State in Kansas. Among them were Dr. Robinson, afterward Governor, John Brown and General James Lane. On the other side the rough frontier population from Western Missouri was reinforced by daring young men from the South, largely from Georgia and South Carolina. Almost every man bore arms, and the condition of society could not have been more lawless and dangerous. Murders had been committed by Missourians for political reasons, and it was unsafe to travel anywhere along the border. The settlements were confined to a few along the Missouri River, from Kansas City northward to Atchison, and along the Kansas River from Kansas City to Topeka. But few settlements had been made ten miles from one or the other of these rivers. Lawrence had been laid out, and the town started with capital furnished no doubt by the Emigrant Aid Society, but there was not a brick house there with the exception of the Free State Hotel, and that was unfinished, having but two or three rooms plastered, and the plaster was green.

The Committee commenced taking testimony, but it was all on one side, as the Missouri people did not think it safe for them to appear, but a very complete statement was obtained of the Free State side of the question, and a general history of the violence at the previous elections, which was the main object of the inquiry. The Capital of the State had been established by the Border Ruffian Legislature at Lecompton, a place about ten miles west of Lawrence, started as a pro-slavery town, and peopled almost entirely by pro-slavery men.

After the committee had finished their work at Lawrence, they went to Lecompton and took testimony there. Governor Robinson accompanied them, and it was considered a very daring feat on his part to go to Lecompton, where some of the worst spirits had been collected. The committee then went to Topeka, a town laid out and started by the Free State men, and from there to Leavenworth, passing through the Indian reservation, where no white settlements existed. At Leavenworth they took a large mass of testimony, including that of some of the chief officers of the Government.

At that time the spirit of hostility was more manifest than before. Lawrence was sacked by an organized military force from Missouri, who burned the Free State Hotel and many other buildings, and drove many of the inhabitants away. The same armed band of desperadoes went afterwards to Leavenworth, threatening to burn that town, and probably the presence of the United States troops at Fort Leavenworth, near by, was all that prevented the sacking of the

town, and saved the lives of the committee. Notices (headed by drawings of the skull and cross-bones) of the border-ruffians to "wipe out" the committee, were posted on the doors of the committee-room.

In view of these dangers, the committee had sent forward copies of the testimony then taken, by Dr. Robinson, but he was arrested on a boat on the Missouri River, and returned to the jail at Leavenworth. The testimony was concealed on the person of Mrs. Robinson, who was allowed to proceed on her journey, and she delivered it to Speaker Banks, to await the coming of the committee.

After closing the testimony at Leavenworth, the committee went to Kansas City and Westport, a town a few miles back of Kansas City, where armed men were mustered for an invasion of Kansas, and they saw a company parading in the streets, and marching off toward Kansas, where they committed atrocities. The development of the testimony, which was impartially taken from both sides, disclosed a condition of affairs worse, if possible, than civil war, and for a time the members of the committee were threatened that they should not leave the town alive. The presence, as a member of the committee, of Major Oliver, who was proven to have participated in the election, but who was in many respects an excellent man, no doubt tended to protect them from violence. One day an armed company of about sixty men marched into the committee room, dressed in the border style, with red shirts and trousers, with bowie knives and pistols in their boots, and it was thought for the purpose of stopping the investigation.

After the committee had spent about two months in this way, it concluded its labors in Kansas and started for Washington. Mr. Howard's health became so feeble that, at his request, his colleagues went with him to Detroit to collate the testimony and prepare the report. Arriving there he was so ill that the duty of preparing the report devolved upon Mr. Sherman, and with the assistance of the clerks who were with him, it was completed in about a week. Every statement made in the report was verified by the clearest testimony, and has never been controverted by any one. This report, when presented to the House, created a good deal of feeling, and intensified greatly the antagonisms in Congress, being made the basis of the campaign of 1856. Mr. Sherman believed then, as he believes now, that the stand taken by the Free State men in 1856 was all that prevented the extension of slavery over the Western Territories. In his speech in the House, he said in conclusion: "The worst evil that could befall our country is civil war; but the outrages in Kansas can not be continued much longer without producing it. To our Southern brethren I especially appeal. In the name of Southern rights crimes have been committed, and are being committed, which I know you can not and do not approve. These have excited a feeling in the Northern States that is deepening and strengthening daily, and may produce acts of retaliation. You are in a minority, and from the nature of your institutions, you relative power is yearly decreasing. In excusing this invasion from Missouri—in attempting to hold on to an advantage obtained by force and fraud—you are setting an example which, in its ultimate consequences, may trample your rights under foot. Until these wrongs are righted, you must expect northern men to unite to redress them. It may not be this year; but, as sure as there is a God in heaven, such a union will be effected, and you will gain nothing by sustaining northern agitators in violating the compromise of your fathers."

The administration of President Pierce persisted in aiding the pro-slavery interests in Kansas,—United States soldiers and officers joining with border ruffians in

committing outrages upon the northern settlers. Mr. Sherman in a debate on the appropriations for the Territorial government of Kansas, in which it was stated that the Senate would not consent to certain provisions of the act as proposed by the House, remarked: "It is idle to say that the Senate will not consent, sir. We are the representatives of the people and can receive no law from them. If the Senate are willing to make the issue with this House, that prosecution for political offenses shall not cease; if they insist that law and justice should be perverted, and force and violence under the cloak of the judiciary shall reign supreme in Kansas, let them bear the responsibility. We will have done our duty and will be sustained by those who sent us here."

In the Presidential election of 1856, Mr. Sherman supported Colonel John C. Fremont for the Presidency, in opposition to Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fillmore. To use his own words, he acted with the Republican party with hundreds of thousands of others, simply because the Republican party resisted the extension, but did not seek the abolition of slavery. The election of Mr. Buchanan aroused the free States to their utmost energy of action. He not only was pledged to advance the interests of the slave-holding States by extending that institution in the Territories, but by the acquisition of Cuba. Mr. Sherman stoutly combatted the President's views. In reply to an inquiry put to him in the House of Representatives, as to carrying slavery into the Territories under the operation of the Constitution, he said: "The Constitution of the United States carries slavery nowhere. It is a local institution, confined within State limits, and goes nowhere except where express law carries it; but, if the Supreme Court of the United States should decide otherwise, I would acquiesce in that decision."

Mr. Sherman, while a zealous champion of the rights of the Free States, took also an active part in legislation on a variety of practical questions. In the debate on the submarine telegraph he showed his opposition to monopolies by saying: "I can not agree that our Government should be bound by any contract with any private incorporated company for fifty years; and the amendment I desire to offer will reserve the power to Congress to determine the proposed contract after ten years." In the debate on the tariff bill, with a view to the reduction of the revenue and an increase of the free list, Mr. Sherman said: "The additions to the free list should be of articles not produced in this country and whose free importation will not compete in any way with the great interests of any section of this country."

The Kansas question occupied a prominent place in the proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Congress. Mr. Sherman, in an able speech against the admission of the new State into the Union, took the ground that Congress should not recognize the Lecompton or any other constitution that had not been framed by a convention to which the people had delegated full power, and which had not been subsequently submitted to and approved by a popular vote. He then said:

"In conclusion, allow me to impress the South with two important warnings she has received in her struggle for Kansas. One is, that though her able and disciplined leaders on this floor, aided by executive patronage, may give her the power to overthrow legislative compacts, yet, while the sturdy integrity of the northern masses stands in her way, she can gain no practical advantage by her well laid schemes. The other is, that while she may indulge with impunity the spirit of fillibusterism, or lawless and violent adventure, upon a feeble and distracted people in Mexico and Central America, she must not come in contact with that cool, determined courage and resolution which forms the striking characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. In such a contest, her hasty and impetuous violence may succeed for a time, but the victory will be short-lived,

and leave nothing but bitterness behind. Let us not war with each other; but, with the grasp of fellowship and friendship, regarding to the full each other's rights, and let us be kind to each other's faults, let us go hand in hand in securing to every portion of our people their constitutional rights."

The foreign relations of Government, the national census and other questions, received Mr. Sherman's attention, and he was invariably a firm advocate for economy in the public expenditures. In a debate on the deficiency bill he strongly urged the necessity of more detailed statements regarding the several objects for which appropriations were asked by the different departments. "I am not disposed," he said, "to cavil at appropriations demanded by the necessities of the country. I think it is the duty of Congress, however, carefully to guard these appropriations from misapplication, and limit them strictly to the necessary expenses of the Government. In my judgment, our Government has departed from its original policy in the appropriation of money more than in anything else." * * * * * * * * * * * "Before we appropriate a dollar of money we should know precisely where the money has gone or is to go." * * * * * * * * * * * "I, sir, can not vote for any bill making appropriations, unless the committee that reports it can give the specific items that make up the aggregate sum." * * * * * * * * * * * "It is our duty as legislators to examine these matters carefully; and the committee should either give us the items or refer us to some public document which contains them."

The then prevalent system of making contracts in advance of appropriations was sternly denounced by him as illegal. He took the ground that the executive officers, having no right to make any contract to expend a single dollar beyond the sums appropriated, violated the law in so doing; and he said:

"Now under what authority of law are these things done? If they are legal and binding on the Government, then this House of Representatives is weaker, as respects the control over the expenditures of the Government, than the head of any bureau. I say, then, that if contracts have been made beyond the amounts appropriated by Congress, they are illegal, and I would punish the officers who made them." * * * * * * * * * * * And it is time that the representatives of the people should put a stop to such proceedings. Otherwise they will have no control over the disbursement of money upon the part of the executive officers."

And his views of the duties of such representatives he gives in the following language: "Retrenchment and reform are now matters of imperative necessity. It is not the mere cry of demagogues, but a problem demanding the attention and worthy the highest ability of the representatives of the people. No party is fit to govern this country which can not solve it. It is in vain to look to executive officers for reform. Their power and influence depend upon executive patronage, and while we grant they will squander. The Senate is neither by the theory of our system, nor by its composition, fitted for the task. This House alone has the constitutional power to perfect a radical reform. The Constitution provides that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives. These provisions were designed to invest this House with the entire control of the public purse—the power of supply. It is the pearl beyond price, without which constitutional liberty in England would long since have fallen under the despotism of the crown."

And still further, in debating the same question, he says: "The proposition is simply this—to bring back this government to the original policy of appropriating for a specific purpose, to be expended by the Executive Department within a given time, and to refuse to the Executive the power to spend this money for any other purpose or at any other time. The proposition is plain, simple and practicable. The gentlemen talk about difficulties in public works when Congress is not in session. Why, Congress is always in session within three or four months before the beginning of the fiscal year. If any disturbances, or any difficulties, or any wars grow up in the course of the year, these difficulties should be submitted to Congress, and Congress ought to consider whether money appropriated for one purpose should be used for another, or whether money appropriated for one fiscal year should be used for another. But, by abuses and by our neglect, the Executive has seized on all these important powers, and exercises them instead of Congress."

Mr. Sherman was a steadfast friend of the old soldiers. He opposed a pension bill which discriminated against the soldier in favor of the officer, and which paid no regard to length of service, and offered an amendment remedying these defects. This amendment placed the soldiers of the war of 1812 and the soldiers of the Indian wars—up to 1815—upon the precise footing soldiers of the continental line occupied under existing laws. He maintained that the same honor and the same reward ought to be given to the soldiers of the war of 1812 as was given to the soldiers of the Revolution.

The bills appropriating public money were closely scrutinized by Mr. Sherman, especially those which related to naval affairs; and he introduced several resolutions for the investigation of alleged abuses at the navy yards, and in the purchase of fuel and of live-oak timber. While debating a naval appropriation bill, Mr. Sherman, in supporting an amendment which he had offered with a view to economy, said: "Mr. Chairman, occupying the position which I do, as a member of the Republican party, I might fairly say to gentlemen on the other side: pile on the appropriations as much as you choose; you have the responsibility of the government; but I deem it my duty, as a member of this House, to endeavor to check, if I can, the growing extravagance of this administration, or of this Government—I do not care which. I therefore make this proposition on my own account, and will simply say that I submit it in good faith. If gentlemen on the other side of the House choose to vote it down, well and good; they have the responsibility. I have performed my duty, and I do not care what they do."

At the close of his second Congressional term, Mr. Sherman was recognized as the foremost man in the House of Representatives. As a debator he had shown himself to be ready and effective; he had not attempted oratorical displays; his efforts were not characterized by the rich imagery of fancy, or the dazzling corruscations of genius; but he was always practical, thoroughly informed, judicious and forcible in his arguments. He had, from deep and unchanged conviction, adopted the political faith of the Republican party, but without any partisan rancor or malignity toward the South. With exemplary personal habits, unremitting in his attendance on the sittings of the House, and well versed in its intricate rules, it was not a matter of surprise to his friends that his name was mentioned in connection with the Speakership of the next House.

Mr. Sherman was equally popular in private life, especially among the growing

circle of Free State men at Washington. An instance of his kindness of heart is related, which shows the condition of affairs at that time at the national capital. A poor colored woman had a slave son, about twenty years of age, decoyed from her, and she at last heard that he was in the prison-pen at Alexandria. It was the intention of the man who claimed him as a chattel to send him to Mississippi, but the bereaved mother was informed that she could purchase her son's freedom for $1,200 in cash. She went to a lady well known in Washington, who had emancipated the slaves she had inherited, and who kindly gave her a list of names of those likely to assist her. Among them was John Sherman, who was the first to respond in the case with liberality, at once so seasonable and precious.

The Thirty-sixth Congress commenced its first session amid the excitement caused by the bold raid of John Brown, which was adroitly used by the leaders of the Southern oligarchy to consolidate public opinion in their section of the country, and to cast opprobrium on the Republicans at the North. They saw that their ascendancy in the national councils was being brought to a close, and that if they were to carry out their plans for a dissolution of the Union, so as to establish the great slave empire of their dreams within the "golden circle," they must strike the blow during the administration of Mr. Buchanan.

When the House of Representatives met, a motion to adjourn over without voting for Speaker was overruled, and a first ballot was taken without any result, some of the Republicans voting for John Sherman, while others voted for Galusha A. Grow. Mr. Grow, having the fewer number of votes, thereupon declined, and the House was about proceeding to a second ballot, with a fair prospect of the election of Mr. Sherman, when Mr. Clarke, a representative from Missouri, rose to denounce a recently published book, entitled: "Helper's Impending Crisis," and to assert that no member of the House who had signed a recommendation of it should be elected speaker. The Republicans were thus drawn into an angry debate, and protracted balloting ensued. The Democrats were unable to arraign Mr. Sherman upon his record, or for any vote or speech; and they evidently feared his inflexible courage, uprightness, and determination to uncover the corruption of the administration. All their energies were accordingly bent on Mr. Sherman's defeat; and hence the clamor over Helper's book, which was only the scapegoat of the occasion.

For several weeks Mr. Sherman needed but three votes to secure his election; and he having been traduced as the standard-bearer of the Republican party, the members of that organization felt that they should not yield to the insolent dictation of unsuccessful opponents, or to cowardly lies. Mr. Sherman reluctantly permitted himself to remain as a target for attack and insult, until he could no longer keep silence, and he thus defined his position: "I desire to say that since I have been a member of this House I have always endeavored to cultivate the courtesies and kind relations that are due from one gentleman to another. I never addressed to any member such language as I have heard here to-day. I never desire such language to be addressed to me, if I can avoid it. I appeal to my public record during a period of four years in this body; and I say now that there is not a single question agitating the public mind, not a single topic on which there can be sectional jealousy or sectional controversy, unless gentlemen on the other side of the House thrust such subjects upon us: I repeat it, not a single question."

In relation to the Helper book, Mr. Sherman said: "I say now; I have said it from the beginning to all; I have sent word to the gentleman who introduced the resolution, that I am willing to have that Helper book read, page by page, and then avow or disavow every sentiment contained in it. I never concealed a

political opinion in my life, and never will. I am now willing, if that offensive resolution be withdrawn, to express at once my opinion of the extracts read at the Clerk's table; but, until that is done I appeal to every man who has a sense of manhood to say whether I could say more than I have."

As the canvass advanced, Mr. Sherman stated publicly that whenever the friends who had so gallantly and liberally sustained him thus far believed that his name in any way presented an obstacle to success, it was his sincere wish that they should adopt some other. Finally, after an eight week's struggle, it was intimated to Mr. Sherman that, if he would give way, his colleague, Governor Corwin, might be elected; and he patriotically retired from the contest. It was first determined, however, to make an effort to concentrate the opposition vote on Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey; and the crowded galleries witnessed an exhibition of devotion to principles regardless of men, and of party discipline in its highest and best sense, which has no parallel in the annals of Congress. The supporters of Mr. Sherman marched over in solid column to Mr. Pennington, changed the ground they had so long and so gallantly maintained, for a new position,—this flank movement being executed in the face of the enemy, and while exposed to his fire, without the loss of a single man. It challenged the admiration of the foe, compelling Democratic leaders to institute comparisons between their own broken ranks and the impregnable front of the Republicans and their allies. Pennington lacked two votes of an election, but the next day he was chosen, and Mr. Sherman conducted him to the Speaker's chair. Some of the Southern men who had been so bitter in their opposition were especially respectful in their greetings of the Speaker, as they advanced to take the constitutional oath which they so soon afterward broke. Meanwhile they wanted to have conspicuous places on the Committees of the House, and were accordingly gracious to the dispenser of power and patronage.

Recognized as the leader of the Republicans in the House, Mr. Sherman was appointed Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He at once took a decided stand against the prevailing system of engrafting new legislation upon appropriation bills, saying: "This is a practice which has grown up within the last few years, and the Committee of Ways and Means deem it their duty at once to put a stop to it; and we have determined, so far as we can, to resist the adoption of all propositions looking to a change in existing law by amendments upon appropriation bills. The theory of appropriation bills is that they shall provide money to carry on the Government, to execute existing laws and not to change existing laws or provide new ones."

Seeing the importance of a careful investigation into the merits of the Pacific Railroad scheme, then before the House, as a committee of the whole, Mr. Sherman introduced a resolution providing that the subject be referred to a select committee of fifteen members, with leave to report by bill or otherwise. This was the initiative in the construction of that great iron highway which binds together the people of the Atlantic and Pacific slopes.

President Buchanan having sent to the House of Representatives a protest against the investigation by that body of certain subordinate executive officers, Mr. Sherman expressed a wish that this protest, against the exercise by the House of one of its most important constitutional prerogatives, should be carefully considered; "Mr. Speaker," said he, "the doctrine set up by the President of the United States in this message is the same under which Europe was governed for a thousand years—that the King can do no wrong; that is the doctrine,

that the King can not be tried and executed, because the King could do no wrong. Charles I. went to the scaffold because the people of England believed that the King was not above and beyond their power. So it was with Louis XVI. and the French people. This doctrine set up by the President of the United States is, in my judgment, the very worst that has been initiated since the foundation of this Republic."

In a debate on the tariff bill, Mr. Sherman urged the necessity of co-operation on the part of different branches of the General Government, in order to promote economy, saying: "No permanent or substantial reductions can be made without an earnest co-operation between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government. We can limit appropriations, but we can not, except by the process of impeachment, prevent the misapplication of the public money. We may appropriate for officers and clerks, but if the President or a head of Department will detail them to edit a party newspaper, or pension them for party services, by appointing them to offices whose duties they never perform, we can not prevent it. If the head of each Department shall, without fear or favor, administer his Department, applying to services rendered there precisely the same rule, as to fitness, industry, and compensation, as would be applied by any prudent private citizen in his own affairs, all the abuses we now hear so much of would soon cease."

In May, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was nominated by the Republicans for President, and war was plainly declared against the principles and purposes of the oligarchy of the slave-labor States. This made these conspirators, who had been for years plotting treason against the Government, more insolent than ever. Mr. Sherman, ever mindful of the necessary courtesy due from himself, was equally determined that others should pay him the same respect; and in a debate on the use of unparliamentary language by a member of the House, he said: "Gentlemen on this floor can not be expected to allow these epithets to be applied to them. Either we must renew all the old habits and barbarous customs of the feudal duel, or we must enforce rigidly the rules of this House to avoid personal collisions. Shall we tolerate that which must inevitably end in disgraceful personal battle upon this floor, or shall we rather enforce the rules of this House by condemning those who violate them? In the midst of an excitement we should never forget that we are the Representatives of the people, met to deliberate upon the affairs of a great nation. Let us, then, with dignity, but without passion or feeling, cast our censure upon the member who has violated the rules of this House."

When Congress met on the 3d of December, 1860, the conspirators in both Houses were outspoken, truculent, and defiant. The message of President Buchanan was a non-committal document, showing that he was perplexed and overwhelmed by events which he had not the courage to control. Encouraged by his declaration, that the Executive possessed no constitutional power to use the Army and Navy for the preservation of the life of the Republic, the Southern leaders worked openly for the destruction of the Union, which the President had neither the heart nor the desire to defend.

Mr. Sherman, while carefully watching over the appropriation bills, took means to provide for the future support of the Government. Government, at that time, had not been able to pay for the past week or two the salaries of members of Congress and many other demands; and it was to relieve these pressing necessities that Mr. Sherman secured the passage of the bill authorizing

the issue of what have since been known as the Treasury notes of 1860. He also introduced at an early stage of the session the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the only true and effectual remedy for the dissensions that now exist between the several States and the people thereof, is in the faithful observance of all the compromises of the Constitution, and of the laws made in pursuance thereof.

"*Resolved*, That the Special Committee of thirty-three be instructed to inquire whether any State, or the people thereof, have failed to obey and enforce the obligations imposed by the Constitution; and if so, the remedy therefor, and whether any further legislation is required to secure such enforcement.

"*Resolved*, That to avoid all further controversies in regard to the several Territories of the United States, said Committee divide said Territories into States of convenient size, with a view to their prompt admission into the Union on an equal footing with the other States."

Recognizing the importance of maintaining the public faith and integrity at any cost, Mr. Sherman waived all objections to the high rates of interest which had been sanctioned by those who were anxious to destroy the national credit and to cripple the resources. The Senate having amended the House bill, Mr. Sherman thus explained the necessities of the occasion: "I will state to the House," said he, "that the House bill authorizes the President to sell these notes at any rate under par in order to raise the money. The Senate have preferred, however, in allowing the President to increase the rate of interest, to require that all notes shall be sold at par. They also authorize the President to issue them at eight, nine, ten, or whatever per cent. may be necessary to produce the money. They also limit the amount to be issued, bearing interest at a higher rate than six per cent., to $3,000,000. On consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury, it is found that this limitation of $3,000,000 is too small, and my amendment is submitted for the purpose of obviating the difficulty. It authorizes the President of the United States to sell all the Treasury notes issued under this bill, if necessary, at a higher rate of interest than six per cent."

In the angry debates which took place on a variety of propositions for pacifying the defiant Southerners, Mr. Sherman was firm in his devotion to the rights of the people and to their freedom of opinions as expressed through the ballot-box: "Sir," said he, "it was but the other day that I was told by a distinguished citizen of an absolute monarchy—and the remark made a deep impression upon my mind—that he deplored the events now transpiring around us; that he deplored what he considered the inevitable fall of this Republic; but, said he, one good will result from it: it will stop forever the struggle for free institutions in Europe; it will establish upon a secure basis the existing governments of the Old World. I felt that the remark was true. If this Government can not survive a constitutional election; if we can not defend our property and protect our flag; if this Government crumbles before the first sign of disaffection, what hope is there for free institutions in countries where kings, nobles, hereditary institutions, and laws of primogeniture have existed for ages? When in modern times the love of liberty has inspired the masses of any people to demand the right of self-government, they have been pointed to the French revolution of 1798, and to South America, where changing Republics rise and disappear so rapidly that not ten men in this House can tell me their existing names. They have been pointed also to Mexico. God forbid that the despots of the Old World should ever adorn their infernal logic by pointing to a disrupted Union here! It was said, with a poet's license, that, 'Freedom shrieked as

Kosciusko fell.' Sir, freedom will die with the fall of this Republic. Those who survive the first calamity will find springing into existence military despotisms North, South, East and West. Instead of two divisions, there will be many divisions. The condition of this country will be worse than that of Mexico, because we are a braver, a stronger, a more powerful people, and shall fight each other with greater tenacity. If this Government is dissolved, the man now lives who will be the Napoleon of some section of this Republic. All history teaches us that a free government is never broken up and disrupted unless a military despotism of force is substituted for the will of the people; and we have no right to suppose that our country will be an exception to the general rule."

While some of the malcontents in Congress deserted their seats and formally returned to their respective States to foment hostility to the Union, others who remained endeavored to cripple the financial resources of the Republic. It was their avowed purpose to throw upon the incoming Administration the large public indebtedness incurred under President Buchanan. One of their propositions was to provide no means for the retirement of the $10,000,000 of Treasury notes which the Administration of Mr. Buchanan had issued at twelve per cent. interest. Mr. Sherman, declaring that no Government and indeed no individual could afford to pay twelve per cent. interest for any length of time, introduced a bill authorizing the President to issue coupon bonds, bearing not to exceed six per cent. interest, for the payment of this loan.

In a debate on the tariff bill he showed that when the Administration of Mr. Buchanan came into power there was less than $20,000,000 of public indebtedness, which had been increased to nearly $100,000,000. "We must," said he, "as a matter of public duty, pass this or some other revenue bill—I do not care what bill it is. If Congress will not pass this bill, let the tariff bill of 1846, or any other measure, be introduced and passed; but this Congress should not adjourn without providing means to pay the ordinary expenses of the Government. This is not a favorite measure of mine. I had nothing to do with it. It was not framed by me. I am for a revenue tariff with such fair, and reasonable incidental protection to industry as may be derived from a revenue tariff. I am in favor of specific duties in all cases where they can be applied."

Mr. Sherman was boarding at Willard's Hotel, at Washington, in February, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by his wife, came there previous to his inauguration. Shortly after his arrival Mr. Sherman called to see him, and his first salutation while shaking hands was, "and so you are John Sherman?" He inspected him from head to foot and then said: "Well, I am taller than you, anyway; let's measure." They backed up against each other and some one said that Mr. Lincoln was two inches taller than Mr. Sherman. From that time their acquaintance and friendship continued during Mr. Lincoln's life. Mr. Sherman saw him as frequently as others, and narrates many pleasant anecdotes of him, several of which have found their way into print.

Mr. Sherman was in Washington in March, 1861, when the canvass occurred in Ohio for the election of a United States Senator, to take the place of Mr. Chase, who had resigned to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury. On the first day's balloting Mr. Sherman had a decided plurality over General Schenck, Governor Dennison, and Mr. Delano; but his friends, finding that he could not at the first meeting receive a majority, withdrew his name and telegraphed him to come to Columbus. Before his arrival, two or three canvasses had been held, but there was no agreement as to a candidate. When Mr. Sherman arrived, the

field seemed to be clear. He was again placed in nomination and was nominated on the second day's balloting and promptly elected.

Mr. Sherman took his seat in the United States Senate on the 23d of March, 1861. It was near the close of the executive extra session of that body, convened for the purpose of acting upon the nominations made by President Lincoln, and but little public business was transacted. A number of the States were unrepresented; but Breckinridge, Clingman, Nicholson, Polk, Powell, and Wigfall still remained in their seats as Senators from their respective States, doing all in their power to cripple the General Government, while Dougla and Johnson had hopes that a civil war might be averted. In less than a week after Mr. Sherman took his seat the Senate adjourned *sine die*, and the Southern Senators hastened home to aid in organizing the great rebellion.

A few weeks later Fort Sumter was fired on and secession was initiated. This aroused the northern spirit, and all partisan jealousies were obliterated in the determination to defend the old flag at all hazards. Twenty million free people appeared actuated by one mind, and volunteers responded to the President's call from every part of the loyal North. Mr. Sherman was on his way home when the first proclamation of President Lincoln, calling for 75,000 troops, was issued. A company was promptly raised in Mansfield, under the command of Captain McLaughlin, who was a veteran of the Mexican war, which was one the of first organizations to take the field, and was mustered into the United States service as Company "I" of the First Ohio Volunteers, at Columbus, on the 18th of April. The two Ohio regiments then received into the service of the United States were ordered to Philadelphia. Mr. Sherman joined them at Harrisburg, and there tendered to General Patterson, in command of the troops then being levied for the Pennsylvania border, his aid in any way that he thought consistent with his duties as a Senator. General Patterson appointed him his aide-de-camp, without pay, and Mr. Sherman remained with the Ohio regiments and General Patterson until the meeting of Congress in July, 1861, serving at the time of the crossing of the Potomac opposite Williamsport.

Congress responded to the proclamation of President Lincoln, convening them in extra session on the 4th of July, 1861; but when the Senate and the House were called to order, it appeared that the Southern States were unrepresented. There were also indications at Washington of a disinclination to assume an aggressive attitude toward the South, which forcibly struck the Senator from Ohio.

"Mr. President," said he, "when I came to the city of Washington I could not help but notice the striking contrast between the feeling here and the feeling at home. Among the people of the States there is everywhere a generous, noble enthusiasm. Men are willing to give up their lives to their country. I came from a region of country where I saw men worth thousands of dollars, living in independence, with every comfort around them, come forward and sign their names to an enlistment by which they engaged to serve as common soldiers in this war. I saw old men bring their sons, robust, stalwart youths, to fight for their country. I saw mothers and fathers all willing to give at least one or more members of their family to fight the battles of the country. Everywhere there was the same generous feeling, and a desire to carry on this war with vigor and energy. I do not see that feeling manifested here. On the contrary, in many departments of the Government there have been constant impediments thrown in the way of the organization of our military forces. I speak this knowing what I say, and willing to prove it."

Senator Sherman, while he encouraged at this extra session the use of all

available means for the prompt suppression of the rebellion, did not lose sight of the reforms in the disbursement of goverment funds which he had advocated in the House of Representatives; and he introduced a bill to carry out those proposed reforms. Neither did he forget that he was a Senator under oath; and while he approved of several extraordinary acts of President Lincoln on a matter of public necessity, he declined to vote for a resolution declaring that those acts were strictly legal.

At the close of the extra session of the Senate Mr. Sherman returned to Ohio, to aid in the great uprising of the loyal North in defense of the Union and of the old flag. Regiments were in progress of enlistment in different sections of Ohio, and he assisted until the October election, when, having received from Governor Dennison authority to raise a brigade, he applied himself diligently to that work; adopting an organization somewhat peculiar, but which proved a good one. Prior to the first of December he had recruited upon his own plan, and largely at his own expense, two regiments of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a battery of artillery, comprising over 2,300 men, of as good material as ever enlisted for the war. They were three years' troops, composed mainly of farmers' sons, and commanded by company officers of their own selection. He had great difficulty in procuring the assignment to him of field officers possessing sufficient experience to command men. He had announced in his plan that the leading commanding officers should have received a military education, and that he would see that persons competent to drill troops were selected. He had great difficulty in getting the assignment of such officers, and only succeeded upon the direct order of President Lincoln, and against the remonstrance of General Scott. Second Lieutenants H. Harker and Forsythe, two young officers of the Regular Army, were finally assigned to the command of the two regiments; Captain Bradley, an experienced sergeant of the Regular Army, was assigned to the command of the battery; and the squadron of cavalry was placed under the command of General McLaughlin, who had had some experience in the Mexican War, and resided in Mansfield. Before Mr. Sherman left, the troops were uniformed, armed, and as well drilled as was practicable in the short period of time. By the aid of Major Garesche, then Assistant Adjutant-General of the army, he secured two or three sergeants and corporals of the Regular Army, to whom commissions were given. The whole force was under the direction of Major Robert S. Granger, an officer of the Regular Army, who had been surrendered by General Twiggs in Texas, and was then on parole. This force served during the whole war, under the name of the "Sherman Brigade," and with the exception of the squadron of cavalry, was kept intact and together.

Mr. Sherman came to Washington, at the meeting of Congress in December, intending to resign his seat as a Senator, and to offer his services in the army; but both President Lincoln and Secretary Chase thought he ought not to do so, but that he should retain his place, where he could be of more service to the Union cause. He continued, however, throughout the war, to do all he could to promote enlistments through others, and he made it a matter of duty constantly to look to the interest of Ohio troops, and contributed to the relief of a great many officers and soldiers of his acquaintance who had been wounded in the service.

Mr. Sherman's great services to the Union cause, however, were in his watchful care of the public finances, and in his endeavors to not only provide for the support of the armies in the field, but to maintain and strengthen the public

credit. While advocating strict economy in the public expenditure, he was always careful not to inflict hardship upon others, or to treat any one with injustice, and he never lost sight of the paramount necessity of preserving the Union. "Sir," said he, in February, 1862, when a foreign interference had been hinted at:

"Rather than yield to traitors or the intervention of foreign powers, rather than bequeath to the next generation a broken Union and an interminable civil war, I would light the torch of fanaticism and destroy all that the labor of two generations has accumulated. Better a desert and universal poverty than disunion; better the war of the French Revolution than an oligarchy founded upon the labor of slaves. But, sir, there is no need of this. The resources, wealth, and labor of twenty millions of freemen are amply sufficient to meet not only the physical, but financial difficulties of the war. Thank God! the test to which all nations in the course of their history are subjected, is applied to us when we have an insignificant national debt; when our resources were never more manifest; when the loyal States are so thoroughly united; when our people are filled with a generous enthusiasm that will make the loss of life and burden of taxation easy to bear. If we conquer a peace by preserving the Union, the Constitution, our Nationality, all our ample Territories, the rebound of prosperity in this country will enable a single generation easily to pay the national debt, even if the war is protracted until desolation is written upon every rebel hearthstone.

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Mr. President, in my judgment, the only way by which our finances can be put in a satisfactory condition, is the adoption in proper forms of legislation of three propositions; first, the prompt levy of a large amount of taxes in the form of internal duties upon consumption and production rather than upon persons and property; second, the prompt revision of all compensation, whoever may be affected thereby; and, third, the prompt punishment of every man, high or low, who takes or receives from the public Treasury a single dollar of money without rendering a true and proper return."

An attempt to increase the pay of members of Congress was sternly resisted by Mr. Sherman. "How many years ago," said he, "was it when members of Congress came here at the rate of $8 a day and considered themselves pretty well paid? How long is it since a brave officer of the army served with the rank of Colonel at $1,500 a year? How long is it since Stewart and other gallant officers of the navy served for small pay? How long is it since the people of this country in their simple habits were willing to live on one moiety of what is now received even by your pages, your clerks, and your messengers?" Suppose that in this hour, to preserve our Government, and to maintain the Union, it is necessary for us to make this sacrifice; will it not be in a noble and a holy cause?"

The acts of Congress providing for internal taxation originated in the House of Representatives, but they were most carefully considered by the Senate Committee on Finance. Delegations were heard, and much of the time, especially of Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Sherman, was taken up in such hearings and in proposing amendments to the tax bills, many of which were of the most important character and largely absorbed their attention during the whole of the war. On these questions, as the records will show, Mr. Sherman participated very largely in the debates; but most of the taxes then imposed have since been repealed.

Mr. Sherman regarded some of these taxes as indefensible in principle, yet voted for them, as a temporary expedient to raise money for revenue. Taxes then paid, in his opinion, not only tended to reduce the present price of commodities, but by reducing the sum to be borrowed enabled the Government to borrow on better terms; while taxes withheld then largely increased the sum

to be levied afterward. What was paid then was paid without interest; for what was postponed to the future the country paid three-fold in accumulating interest. The war had given vast activity to all classes of industry, and yielded enormous profit to those who were in business. It was proper that they then paid to the Government their full taxes on these profits before they were consumed by expenditure. "Taxes," said Mr. Sherman, "must be fearlessly assessed and impartially collected. We can not increase our taxes after war; we must be prepared to reduce them. Taxes are more cheerfully paid now, in view of the mountain of calamity that would overwhelm us if the rebellion should succeed; but when we reach the haven of peace, when the danger is past, you must expect discontent and complaint. The grim specter of repudiation can never disturb us if we do our duty of tax-paying as well as our soldiers do theirs of fighting." "And if, Senators, you have thought me hard and close as to salaries and expenditures, I trust you will do me the justice to believe that it is not from any doubt of the ability of our country to pay, or from a base and selfish desire for cheap reputation, or from a disinclination to pay my share, but because I see in the dim future of our country the same uneasy struggle between capital and labor—between the rich and the poor, between fund holders and property-holders—that has marked the history of Great Britain for the last fifty years. I do not wish the public debt increased one dollar beyond the necessities of the present war; and the only way to prevent this increase is to restrict our expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with the public service, and to increase our taxes to the highest aggregate our industry will bear."

Meanwhile it had become apparent that the United States Government must furnish some kind of paper money as the basis of its operations. Specie payments had been suspended about the first of January, 1862, and the only paper money in use was the bills of the local State banks, and the demand notes of the Government, which did not enter into the general circulation. Here the financial history of the war commenced. Whether the notes to be issued should be a legal tender was the pivotal question; and upon that point Senator Sherman, with Secretary Chase, had a strong and decided conviction that there was no safety in the then condition, except in making them a legal tender. Mr. Sherman took a very active part in pressing the legal tender clause while it was pending in the House; and when the bill came to the Senate, he was the chief, if not the only, advocate of the policy in the Committee on Finance. Mr. Fessenden and Judge Collamer were both opposed to the legal tender clause, and there were many warm debates in the committee upon the subject. Mr. Sherman stated his views at length in supporting the bill to authorize the issue of United States notes in February, 1862, in which he justified the legal tender feature on the ground of necessity. "I do believe," said he, "there is a pressing necessity that these demand notes should be made a legal tender, if we want to avoid the evils of a depreciated, dishonored paper currency. I do believe we have the constitutional power to pass such a provision, and that the public safety now demands its exercise." Reviewing the whole financial situation and showing the necessity of the measure, Mr. Sherman considered the constitutional power of Congress to enact it. "I rest my vote," he said, "upon the proposition that this is a necessary and proper measure to furnish a currency—a medium of exchange—to enable the Government to borrow money to maintain an army and to support a navy. Believing this, I find ample authority to authorize my vote. We have been taught by recent fearful experience that delay and doubt

in this time of revolutionary activity are stagnation and death. I have sworn to raise and support our armies, to provide for and maintain our navy, to borrow money to uphold our Government against all enemies at home and abroad. That oath is sacred. As a member of this body I am armed with high powers for a holy purpose, and I am authorized—nay, required—to vote for all laws necessary and proper for executing these high powers, and for accomplishing that purpose. This is not the time when I would limit these powers. Rather than yield to revolutionary force, I would use revolutionary force. * * * Regarding this great measure as a necessary and proper one, and within our power to enact, I see plain before me the path of duty, and one that is easy to tread."

Mr. Sherman's consistency in his efforts to reduce the expenditures of Government was manifested very clearly in the concluding paragraphs of his remarks on a bill providing for the "expenses of Congress:" "I will only repeat what I have said many times in this Senate, that, under dire necessity, we must revise the expenses of this Government. I am willing to commence with myself; then to take those around me; and then extend the circle to those that are further off, until finally, and as a last resort, we strike at the army and navy, and all the officers engaged in those branches of the public service. I care not in what form it comes, whether in the shape of a tax, a *pro rata* reduction, or a carefully analyzed deduction. I am willing to vote for it, and I am willing to commence with myself."

While he advocated severity toward those who had instigated the rebellion and who were its leaders, he was equally disposed to treat with leniency those who had been blindly led into the struggle:

"You must in war," said he, "adopt the laws and policy of war. I am, therefore, in favor of the most rigid law of confiscation against the leaders of this rebellion; but I would, as an act of wisdom, of amnesty, of wise forbearance and moderation, authorize the President any time to proclaim an amnesty to the great masses of the rebels. Against the captains of companies, the members of Congress, the leaders in the rebellion, those who have staked their property upon it, men of intelligence and character, I would, without mercy, prosecute the laws of confiscation and war to the furthest extent. Let us adopt this policy, guided by wise moderation, controlled by a manly earnestness, and a determination to stand by each other, and I believe the Republican party will not only save the country, but will give it an era of prosperity of which we have had no example. If, on the contrary, any useless measures of legislation, looking to extreme means, be adopted, prejudicing the great mass of the people of the Southern States, destroying their rights as citizens of those States, or reducing the States to Territories, it will only exasperate the people of those States more and more, will make conquest impossible, and a reunion of all the States utterly futile. I believe that by a wise system we may, one by one, gather these States again into the folds of the Union; and if the Republican party, through its wisdom and ability, shall carry the country through this revolution, I do not fear for the verdict of the popular will. I have heard some of my friends express a doubt, and say, 'let us do this now, because after a while we may not have the power.' I will do what I think is right, and I have an abiding confidence in the people of the United States that they will stand by those who follow their convictions of duty with moderation and good sense."

In offering a resolution calling for official reports on the battle of Pittsburgh Landing, Mr. Sherman paid a glowing tribute to the soldiers from his own State, which he closed by saying: "Sir, I refer to these events, not with a view of disparaging the achievements of others, but to secure to the people of

Ohio the just share of honor to which they are entitled. We ought always to regard our State organization with pride. It controls nearly all the relations which affect home, family, kindred, property and personal rights. I trust never to see the States lose their importance in our system of Government. Although rebels have cloaked their treason with the pretense of defending State rights, by making the States independent of and superior to the United States, yet we ought not, therefore, to reduce them below their proper position or impair in the least the affection due from each citizen to his State. State pride, and State rights are perfectly consistent with the higher allegiance we owe to the National Government. And, sir, the same sentiment which makes us sensitive for the honor of our State will excite us to preserve the honor and just authority of the United States.

"It is this love of nationality, the indefinable sentiment which animates us at the sight of our flag, kindles our blood when the national hymns break upon us, excites the pride and elevates the manhood of the brave and the timid, the young and the old alike, that now arms seven hundred thousand men and makes twenty millions of people eager to make sacrifices of property and life for their country.

"It is this love of nationality, founded upon the affection of our people for both the State and General Governments, that I trust will carry us safely through this national trial, and under the blessings of divine Providence, speedily bring us a permanent peace upon the true basis, the supremacy of each State, and the indivisibility and unity of all the people of the United States in one Government, for the purposes prescribed by the Constitution."

Mr. Sherman never failed to let an opportunity pass without urging the most vigorous prosecution of the war; and early in July, 1862, while debating a militia bill, at that time before the Senate, he advocated the employment of colored men as soldiers. He said:

"In my judgment, this war will never sucessfully end until the people of the United States are thoroughly alive to the situation and condition of the country. By conscription laws the rebels have united the whole physical power of the rebel States in their army. They seize all kinds of men—white and black, loyal or disloyal—and force them into an involuntary service. Some gentlemen here are very much afraid that we will employ black men, and allow them to do loyal service. While these gentlemen are continually arraigning the Administration and Congress, and all who desire to put down the rebellion, for doing any act that would not be justified in time of peace, they never say one word about those who are seeking to subvert the Government by means that we dare not resort to. We have heretofore resorted only to volunteers; we have appealed to the patriotic people of the United States to volunteer and engage in this war, and nobly have they responded; but, sir, I take it, if it be necessary in order to subdue this rebellion, we will resort to all the power given us by the Constitution of the United States. I have no hesitation in saying myself, that rather than see this country broken up, rather than bequeath to the next generation a broken Union and interminable war and anarchy, I would vote for a general conscript bill, and I think the necessity now exists for one. I would unite the whole physical power of this country, white and black; and if necessary to preserve the Union, would desolate every rebel State. The object is too great for us to stand upon trifles. We all know and feel that if this war ends upon the basis of a dissolution of the Union, we bequeath to generations yet unborn interminable war. You can not have two nations of the same race side by side with each other, with a boundary of 2,000 miles, without it. There will be causes of jealousy springing up between them that you can not now forsee; and if you should divide the country, or allow these men to divide it, there would soon be internal commotions in the Southern and in the Northern confederacy. The East and the West

would quarrel. Factions embittered by local interests would destroy all that two generations of men have accumulated. To avoid such calamities I am willing to resort to extraordinary measures, and if the appeals now made for volunteers, if the arming of the militia, if the employment of negroes is not sufficient, then I would do what every other government has done under like circumstances—what our fathers did in the war of 1812—I would, by a fair law, unite and combine together, in one great army, the whole physical force of this country; and, if necessary, I would desolate every State that stands in the way."

The summer of 1862 was a gloomy epoch in the loyal North. McClellan had been recalled from the Peninsula. Pope had been driven back from the Rapidan; and after an overwhelming series of confused and bloody engagements forced to seek refuge in the defenses of Washington. In the Southwest the Union arms seemed to be in a torpid condition, while the enemy was active and aggressive. In that department of the forces in which Ohio was especially interested, there were grave delays in the long awaited movement on Chattanooga; and finally it appeared that Bragg had arrived there before Buell. At that critical epoch it was not only necessary for some to organize armies and navies, and for others to lead them to victory, but for the national legislators to provide the means for recruiting, equipping, paying and feeding large bodies of men; for the purchase of vessels, arms, and ammunition, and for the care of the sick and of the wounded; and this had to be done by such legislation as would prevent national financial failure. In this legislation Mr. Sherman took a prominent part.

Mr. Sherman's position on the Finance Committee necessarily brought him more in contact with Secretary Chase than with any other executive officer of the Government. Mr. Chase had been a Free Soiler, and Mr. Sherman a Whig, and the old divisions of parties still left their impress upon the public men who participated in the early life of the Republican party. They were always, however, very cordial and intimate; and the Secretary often said to the Senator that he rendered him more personal aid in the duties of his office than any one else. He freely consulted with him about all the loans and every measure pending in Congress. At Mr. Chase's request Mr. Sherman took charge of the national bank bill. His business experience with banks in Ohio led him strongly to antagonize the system of State banks then existing, and he was very anxious to supersede it in some way, but was not entirely satisfied that it was wise to organize national banks during the war, believing that the issue of United States notes, supported by an issue of bonds, would furnish means enough to carry on the operations of the war. It soon became apparent, however, that the State banks were an obstruction to the national financial operations. They issued paper money without regard to the limits prescribed by the State laws; and their notes had a legal circulation which prevented to some extent the use of United States notes. Mr. Sherman, as early as December, 1862, in a reported speech, took strong ground against these banks and introduced and urged their abolition by means of taxation. Believing that these banks could only be absorbed by the formation of another system of banking, Mr. Sherman finally took hold of the national bank bill, which had been recommended by Secretary Chase in December, 1861; but which was not supported either by public opinion or by any considerable number of members of Congress.

When Mr. Sherman, at the beginning of the session in December, 1862, undertook to perfect the bill, Mr. Fessenden having doubts about it, or being opposed to it, requested him to take charge of it, stating that he did not wish to

obstruct the views of Secretary Chase, but that he could not support them. The records of the debate show that Mr. Sherman's speech was the only one made in favor of the national bank bill, although it was before the Senate off and on for ten days. Mr. Sherman feared that it would not pass; but, finally, by active exertions and by the earnest, personal appeals of Secretary Chase to Senators opposed to it, a majority was secured. It was a close contest, and the financial change thus secured was a turning-point in the preservation of the National credit, and consequently of the national existence. Mr. Sherman has always regarded his speeches on State banks, and on national banks at that time, as the most important that he made in the Senate during the war.

When the national currency act was discussed in the Senate, Mr. Sherman took a stand in relation to the taxation of national banks which he has since maintained, and which shows how ungrounded are the charges that he has been disposed to show undue favoritism to these institutions: "The question of taxation," said he, "has given me more embarrassment in deciding upon my own personal course upon this bill than any other thing connected with it. * * It is indepensable that these banks should pay not only the expense of their management, but should pay a liberal tax to the Government of the United States. I do not wish to screen them from taxes, however friendly I may be to this system. I wish to impose upon them severe burdens of taxation. * *

"Yesterday, in discussing this matter, I suggested that the United States tax proposed on the banks should be doubled, that the amount of tax on these banks levied by the United States should be so heavy that no one could say that property employed in national banks paid a less rate of taxation than property engaged in other business. * * * * * * *

"There is one general idea that controls my vote on this matter. I do not think it is a matter to get excited about. The States are necessary to be supported, and the counties and the cities must be maintained; but so must the National Government, and the needs of the National Government are now greater than those of any portion of the community; and the only question is, how can these governments be sustained without injury to each other, for all must be sustained by taxation. The basis of my idea is that certain modes of taxation should, by law, be set aside for the United States, as by the Constitution we have set aside for national purposes the power to impose duties upon imports. * * * * * * * * * * *

It is proposed by this bill, also, to give to the United States Government another fund, another mode of collecting taxes, and what is it? The bonds of the United States invested in a system of national banks. They are to be reserved to the nation as another fund from which the nation alone may draw taxes. Is that extraordinary? The States have, by law, the exclusive power, and they, by law, collect exclusive taxes on all the lands and personal property of the United States, with some small exceptions. Is it unreasonable that the Government of the United States should claim as its peculiar source of taxation, first, duties on imports; next, indirect internal taxation, and next, a tax on its own securities? We now have the power to tax all the bonds of the United States for national purposes. The law declares that these bonds shall not be subject to State taxation, but it does not relieve them from taxation by the nation. They are moneys invested in the securities of the United States, and that fund may be set apart, used exclusively by the nation for the support of the Government. Is it unreasonable, when this money is invested in a system of national banks, set aside to maintain and build up a national currency upon, to extend this exemption of United States stocks when owned by these national banks? * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I do not want the owners of these national banks to escape taxation. I wish that distinctly understood. * * * * * * * * * * But, sir, I want the tax derived from this source to go into the National Treasury, where we need it. No tax can be or has been pro-

posed here that I will not readily vote for. If it is necessary still further to tax these banks, or if it is necessary still further to tax the national securities, or to increase our duties on importations, or to increase our internal revenue, I am perfectly willing to share in the responsibility of putting upon our people any burden of taxation. I believe we can collect one-half or even more than one-half of our large expenditures by indirect taxation under our revenue laws. All that I claim is, that if this system is organized by the National Government, the tax imposed upon the property invested in these banks shall be set aside as a national fund to be used for national purposes."

During the successive recesses of Congress Mr Sherman made it a point to visit the armies of the Union then in the field. He was on the battleground of the Wilderness when General Grant was moving in the summer and fall of 1864; and when the Monitor disabled the Merrimac, he went immediately to the seat of operations, and was on the Monitor the second or third day after the battle. In March and April, 1865, upon the invitation of Secretary Stanton, he, together with a number of other Senators, visited Charleston, Hilton Head, and Savannah, while General Sherman was marching toward Goldsboro. Later, upon General Sherman's march northward, he returned from Washington with him to his head-quarters at Goldsboro, and there saw the closing inspection of his army.

April, 1865, is recorded on the pages of history as a month of victory and of sorrow to the people of the United States. In the earlier days the Confederate capital was occupied by Federal troops, and the military chiefs of the rebellion successively surrendered. A few days later the life of President Lincoln was taken by an assassin, and Andrew Johnson became President of the United States. The great armies of the Republic, whose bravery and fortitude had saved its life, and had emancipated an enslaved race, were disbanded, and returned to the avocations of peace. It has truly been said that no argument in favor of free institutions and a Republican form of Government so conclusive and potential as this was ever before presented to the judgment of the nations of the earth. Resistance to the authority of the United States by individual States was at an end and slavery had been abolished. But the position of the States recently in rebellion was to be determined, and the political rights of the emancipated race were to be defined. The history of this reconstruction of the political system of the insurrectionary States on those new conditions which the civil war had imposed and rendered necessary, is a history of earnest struggles more or less successful. The Republicans took the ground that justice and not expediency should be the rule in the readjustment of national affairs.

At Mr. Sherman's second election as Senator, his only competitor was General Schenck, who had been wounded in the war and had developed a good deal of strength; but he was nominated on the first ballot and elected. When Mr. Fessenden was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Sherman became Chairman of the Committee on Finance; and after Mr. Fessenden returned to the Senate he voluntarily surrendered this position to him.

It soon appeared that there was a wide difference of opinion between the Senator from Maine and the Senator from Ohio on the question of refunding the debt and providing ways and means for paying off the floating debt and liabilities. Mr. Sherman was very decidedly opposed to the issue of six per cent. bonds for that purpose, and has never entertained a doubt that if the policy he then recommended had been adopted, we could have funded the whole of the 7-30 notes and the floating indebtedness with a five per cent. bond.

He took, however, a hopeful view of national finances. "We shall not,"

said he in April, 1866, "have to beg of foreign nations, or even of our own people, money within two or three years. Our national debt will be greatly sought for, I have no doubt. I take a hopeful view of the future. I do not wish now to cripple the industry of the country by adopting the policy of the Secretary of the Treasury, as he calls it, of reducing the currency by crippling the operations of the Government, when I think that under any probability of affairs all this debt will take care of itself. I believe if the Secretary of the Treasury would do nothing in the world except sit in his chair, meet the accruing indebtedness and issue his Treasury warrants, this debt will take care of itself, and will fund itself at four or five per cent. before very long."

"Credit," said he, at this time, "is based not only upon a strict compliance with contracts and ability to perform them, but also upon great care in making them. We must have prudence in making a contract, honor in observing it, and ability to perform it. These are the elements of public as well as private credit. Our history as a nation has shown that we have the means and will to fill our contracts; it is for us to show our prudence in making them in the future. In private dealing we will not trust a man who has great means and ample property if he is reckless in making engagements; but we do trust the man who has no resources but his prudence and property. As a nation we ought not to impair our credit by making engagements more onerous than other nations do, unless we are compelled to do so by sheer necessity. While we were in war, our Government in discredit, and our people fearing the result of the struggle, we were forced by necessity to pay high rates; but to do so now is a confession of weakness that I see no foundation for."

Mr. Sherman's speeches on funding the national debt, delivered in the Senate on the 9th of April and the 22d of May, 1866, covered the whole ground and attracted the attention of the country. "Why," he asked, "enter the money market offering usurious interest? Why pay more than any good merchant in New York will pay? Why traffic our loans, a mortgage on all our industry, on terms worse than bankrupt nations of Europe offer? Go, backed by your resources, your unclouded and undisputed empire, the love and faith of your people, the respect of all nations—go, I say, with all these, and with confidence in yourselves, to the people who hold your bonds, and you will be able to borrow money at five per cent., yea, before long, at four per cent. Go not to the money-changers. If they are allowed to fix the rate of your interest, they will continue it as it is with all its exemptions, until the people, fired at an injustice, will do wrong to correct it. I conclude as I commenced, that to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, in the process of refunding, to issue six per cent. bonds, is a political crime.

Mr. Sherman stood in the Senate almost alone in opposition to the act passed in April, 1866, which was strongly pressed by Secretary McCulloch, authorizing the refunding of the floating indebtedness into a six per cent. bond. There are reasons for believing now that Mr. Fessenden subsequently became convinced that Mr. Sherman was right; but the differences between them, which developed some feeling, together with failing health, caused Mr. Fessenden to decline to serve as Chairman of the Committee on Finance, after having served for but one session. Mr. Sherman was designated as his successor, and was then identified with the various financial measures of Congress. He can fairly claim to have been the author, in substance, of the refunding act, and to have taken the most prominent part in the different financial measures that became laws.

While Mr. Sherman was earnest in advocating a refunding policy looking to the lowering of the rate of interest on the debt, and to the resumption of specie payments, it was almost impossible to bring about a concurrence of opinion in either party. A refunding act had, in substance, been introduced by him as early as 1867, but it was not adopted until 1870, substantially as he had proposed it, but without the features looking to the resumption of specie payments which he had advocated. The temper of the public was entirely against the adoption of such measures. Prior to the panic of 1873, he had repeatedly introduced and urged measures looking to a coin standard, and at one time a bill authorizing the conversion of United States notes into bonds passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House.

In supporting the tariff of 1867, Mr. Sherman carried out the opinions which have already been quoted. He has ever believed in the doctrine of protection for a new country like ours, and sustained bills looking to large collections of duties on imported goods, and to the rapid repeal of all internal taxes. "Every hour of domestic labor," said he, "contributes some portion of its product to the wants of the nation. Under these circumstances it is the plainest principle of political economy that we should so frame our tariff laws as to produce the largest possible income from imported goods. Revenue is the first, highest and most pressing want, and it must be so levied as to do the least harm to our industry. It is in the application of this principle that all the difficulty in framing a tariff law exists. This can not be done by applying any general rate or rule to all articles. We must discriminate between articles of luxury and articles of necessity; between articles that may be produced in our country, and articles mainly produced abroad; between raw materials necessary to domestic manufacture, and completed products of industry. The rate of duty must be modified by a multitude of circumstances, as varied as human knowledge and with details far more difficult than any subject of legislation."

While Mr. Sherman favored the imposition of duties on imported articles, he was largely instrumental in framing and passing the several acts repealing internal revenue taxes, and reducing them to their present low rate on whisky, tobacco, beer, and a few stamp duties. "During the war," said Mr. Sherman, "these duties on imports were increased to counterbalance the internal taxes levied upon domestic productions. With a few exceptions the last shred of these internal taxes will now be repealed, and our manufacturers can compete with their foreign rivals with no disadvantage but higher-priced labor, which is met by an average duty on the whole list of fifty per cent. * * In a controversy like this, between opposing theories, the highest wisdom often lies between them. While protecting home industry we ought not in any case to levy a duty so high as to exclude the foreign fabric, but only such as will secure fair but not excessive wages, and as will induce a competition between the foreign and domestic fabric that shall secure to the customer the lowest prices consistent with the maintenance in our country of all the industries for which we have equal natural facilities. We must not compel our laborers to compete with the poorly paid labor of Europe; but we ought not by our protection laws to secure to them higher wages than can be earned in kindred employments.'

At the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation all sorts of charges were made against almost every man in public life. The air was full of calumny. Up to that time no imputation had ever been cast upon Mr. Sherman of personal

connection with anything improper or wrong. He was then severely attacked by the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and other Democratic papers in Ohio, because it was said that he amassed great wealth out of the war, and therefore must have made it improperly. Mr. Sherman met these charges on the threshold by writing two letters, one of which was written to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and the other to Judge Welcker of Ohio.

These letters stated the exact facts and Mr. Sherman's defiant attitude toward all similar accusations. No man can say, therefore, that Mr. Sherman ever in the slightest degree received any benefit from the Government in any business operation connected with the Government, except the salary given him by law. It is a matter of public notoriety that no one could have been more stringent in severing his connection with any transaction which by possibility could affect the Government, or could be affected by pending legislation of Congress. He even carried this position to an extreme, and never bought, or sold, or dealt in any stock, bond, or security, or business which could be affected by his action in Congress. The letters mentioned above promptly squelched these accusations at the time, for they were sustained by voluntary declarations made by prominent Democrats, especially in Ohio; but the poison of the undefined accusation still continued, and they are occasionally referred to, although not in the way of a charge, but rather an imputation founded upon false estimates of his property.

The panic of 1873 created a profound impression, and led to a debate that continued for six months, but no agreement was possible, and both parties were about evenly divided. This had a very injurious effect upon the fall elections in 1874, and every one was impressed with the importance of a definite financial policy. At the first caucus held in December, 1874, Mr. Sherman offered a resolution appointing a Republican committee with a view to bring about a concurrence of opinion. It was adopted, and a committee of nine members, of which he was chairman, was appointed, composed nearly equally of those who were classed as inflationists and contractionists; but by some yielding on both sides, the resumption act was adopted by that committee as a compromise measure. There was nothing in the bill but what had been proposed on one side or the other in the previous debates; but the effective section which fixed the day of resumption and gave to the Secretary of the Treasury power to bring it about was agreed upon, but for opposite reasons. The members of the committee had been so committed by previous opinions that, while they could agree upon the measure, they could not agree upon the reasons for it, and it would not have stood the test of debate. It was distinctly said that if one side stated their views of the defects of the measure the other would not vote for it, and thus it would be defeated. The Democratic party, as purely a party of opposition, would vote against any measure supported by the Republicans, and, therefore, it was necessary for the latter to act together. This necessity of concurrence was all that secured an agreement upon the bill; and it was reported to the caucus and to the Senate with the distinct understanding that there should be no debate on the side of the Republicans, but that Mr. Sherman, without committing any one, should be left to manage it according to his own discretion. This timidity on the part of the friends of the bill, naturally weakened it before the country, for the newspapers and the public discussed it; and, though it was in the main a wise measure, it was denounced by both parties as a surrender, and was not satisfactory to the general public. Its execution depended entirely upon the will of the Secretary of the Treasury for the time being.

Meanwhile, Mr. Sherman was elected to the United States Senate for a third time. There was no opposition to him developed in the Republican party, and he received an almost unanimous nomination; but this was at the beginning of the formation of independent parties prior to the Presidential election of 1872, and there was much fear that enough members could be concentrated upon some third candidate to defeat him after he had received the nomination. A spirited effort was made to concentrate the opposition on an independent candidate, to be voted for by the Democrats, but it failed; and in January, 1872, he was elected by a strict party vote.

The sinking fund laws were regarded by Mr. Sherman as inviolable. "Sir," said he in March, 1875, "pledges of public faith must be observed literally and truly, and I am very glad the Secretary of the Treasury has taken the position that whatever else comes the sinking fund shall be maintained. Indeed, the law in regard to the sinking fund is so clear and so strong, that a Secretary of the Treasury who would violate that law would clearly be subject to, and ought to be, impeached. That law is an element of the public credit and must not be impaired."

Throughout the long financial discussions that paved the way to specie payments, and during the dark period of commercial adversity that followed the return of peace, Mr. Sherman never lost courage. "Sir," he said in January, 1876, "we ought to take a hopeful view of things in this centennial year of our great country. Look at the aggregate of results: A century ago we were 3,000,000, now 40,000,000; then, we had a little border on the Atlantic; we are now extended to the Pacific. See what has been accomplished in a hundred years: During that time there have been periods of darkness and doubt. Every seven, or ten, or twelve years, periodically, there have been times of financial distress. We have lived through them all, I believe, and I trust in God that this very year is the beginning of another period of prosperity, and that all these dark clouds which gentlemen are trying to raise up from the misery of the past two or three years and from their own clouded imaginations, will entirely disappear. I believe that even now we are in the sunshine of increasing prosperity, and that every day and every hour will add to our wealth and relieve us from our distresses."

In the political campaign of 1876, Mr. Sherman made an able speech at Marietta, Ohio, which did much to inspire the Republicans with confidence, and which supplied their speakers and editors everywhere with a magazine of facts and figures. In conclusion he urged his Republican friends to enter the contest with a firm confidence that the people would do what was best:

"Let us," he said, "again gather around the Republican party, proud of all the good it has done, anxious to repair its errors, determined to advance its standard, to keep fully abreast of the holiest, noblest and highest purposes of our age, to crown the full measure of our faith by protecting all men in equal rights, by redeeming all pledges of the public faith, and by securing all reforms attainable by poor human nature.

President Hayes was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1877, and, in selecting his Cabinet, appointed Mr. Sherman Secretary of the Treasury. The transfer of Mr. Sherman from the Finance Committee of the Senate to the Treasury Department was regarded with great satisfaction by all who were in favor of refunding the public debt into bonds bearing a low rate of interest, and by all who desired the success of specie resumption in 1879. His large experience in the Senate

Finance Committee; his thorough familiarity with all financial legislation and with the business condition and financial needs of the country at that time, and his extensive knowledge of the monetary systems and policies of other countries, all gave assurance that his administration of the Treasury would be successful.

During the exciting contest over the Presidential dispute, which had just happily closed, the distrust and doubt which had been created in our political affairs had caused such a depression in the public securities that the sale of bonds for refunding was very limited.

On taking the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Sherman found in existence a contract between the Government and a number of associated bankers in this country and Europe for the sale of $300,000,000 of 4½ per cent. bonds for refunding purposes. This contract had existed since August 12th of the previous year, and under it about $90,000,000 had then been sold.

The peaceable solution of the political difficulties, however, had removed the distrust and doubt to a certain extent, and the sales under this contract began to be made with considerable rapidity.

Mr. Sherman found there were of redeemable bonds, bearing a rate of interest of five and six per cent., about seven hundred millions; and sound statesmanship demanded that they should be replaced as soon as practicable by bonds bearing a lower rate of interest.

To his views on this matter there was no opposition from any source. Mr. Sherman also found that under the resumption act, which had then been in existence more than two years, no steps had been taken with a view to the resumption of specie payments by the Government, required by the terms of that act to take place on January 1st, 1879.

In the sufficiency of this act to bring about resumption Mr. Sherman had great faith. He had carried it through the Senate; he had fought against its repeal; and he had tried in every way to popularize it with the people, and convince them of its sufficiency and power to bring the country out of the financial distress in which it had been plunged since the panic of 1873.

To his views on this matter great opposition sprang up; but so long as the law remained on the statute book there was no alternative for Mr. Sherman, even if he had desired it, except to see that the provisions of the law were enforced. So, on April 6th, when he had been Secretary but a few days, he addressed a letter to Messrs. Rothschild & Sons, of the associated bankers, with whom the Government had the contract for placing the 4½ per cent. bonds, in which letter he stated that when their sales reached $200,000,000, he proposed to withdraw them from the market, and that he desired to sell, for refunding purposes, the four per cent. bond; and he invited their aid in this policy. He also stated that he was authorized to sell, for resumption purposes, bonds similar to those sold for refunding, and that he desired to do so at the rate of thirty millions a year.

At the time that letter was written the 4½ per cent. bonds were below par in Europe, and were but very little above par at home. But the boldness of the policy which was here outlined, showing the firm faith which Mr. Sherman had in the credit of the country and in his ability to secure a lower rate of interest, gave great confidence to the bankers and business men, and caused such a rise in the 4½ per cent. bonds, that he was enabled to sell immediately two millions for refunding purposes; and before the 1st of July the whole two hundred millions were taken, of which fifteen millions were applied to resumption purposes.

Such was the success of this policy, that Mr. Sherman was enabled on the 9th of June to obtain a contract for the sale, firm, of twenty-five millions four per cent. bonds at par, of which five millions could be applied to resumption purposes; with a provision, also, that the loan should be open to public subscription for a period of one month. Thus, in less than six months, Mr. Sherman had been enabled so to raise the credit of the country that he was enabled to sell four per cent. bonds at par, and also to exact of the bankers who took the loan a condition that they should open it to the public, in order that all might share in the benefits likely to accrue from the purchases; and he had meanwhile secured at least $20,000,000 for resumption purposes.

Books for subscription to this loan were opened throughout the country immediately. An enthusiasm in behalf of the loan was raised which reminded one of the patriotic impulses that thrilled the heart of the North in the time of the war. To the surprise of every one, before the close of the thirty days during which the loan was opened to the public at large, more than seventy-five millions of bonds had been sold, of which twenty-five millions were reserved for resumption purposes.

About the time this transaction was completed, Congress convened in special session. Among its first measures was the introduction, on one day, of no no fewer than thirteen bills to repeal the resumption act; and a bill for this purpose passed the House on the 23d of the following month. Bills were also introduced, almost without number, to restore the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar, then worth about eighty-five cents in gold. The agitation of these two measures so alarmed investors that subscriptions for the four per cent. bonds immediately ceased; and, despite every effort of Mr. Sherman, neither bankers nor other individuals could be induced to take the loan; which had then fallen two or three per cent. below par; and it seemed for a while as if a call for six per cent. bonds, which had been made in advance, anticipating the sale of fours, would have to be paid from the cash in the Treasury, and as if the hope of selling any more four per cent. bonds for refunding, or of successfully resuming specie payments, would have to be abandoned.

Further discussion of these measures, however, seemed to indicate that there was not sufficient strength in Congress to pass the silver bill unmodified, or to repeal the resumption act, at all events over the veto of the President, which, it was believed, would be immediately interposed. Consequently, in January, the alarm concerning the public credit somewhat abated. On the 16th of that month Mr. Sherman, having concluded all contracts for the sale of fours, gave notice that he would receive subscriptions from the public at large for the sale of these bonds; and he immediately brought to bear all resources and expedients within his power to popularize them and facilitate their sale. A poster, advertising the loan, was sent to every postmaster, banker, and business firm, in the country. On the 28th of February, the bill authorizing the coinage of the silver dollar became a law over the veto of the President; but it was shorn largely of its power for evil by authorizing the coinage only upon Governmental account, the Government securing the difference between the bullion value of the gold and silver dollar. This would, for a time, render the coinage harmless; and there was a general belief that before any evil effects should flow from it, the bill might be repealed, or so modified as to prevent injury in the future. Consequently, subscriptions began again to be received; but Congress still agitated the repeal of the resumption act, and the doubt and distrust

arising from this agitation kept the credit of the country at such a low ebb that the sale of the four per cent. bonds could be made only with difficulty.

On March the 19th, Mr. Sherman was required to appear before the Finance Committee of the Senate, where he was sharply questioned as to the condition of the Treasury, the action he had already taken, and the action that he proposed in regard to securing a fund for the redemption of the legal tender notes. His answers were so ready and satisfactory, and he showed such intimate knowledge of the matter in all particulars, that very little comfort was given to the agitators for the repeal. Following this, on April 1st, he was summoned before the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, and there subjected to a searching inquiry concerning the whole matter. The ablest and most sincere of the men who had advocated inflation, and who believed resumption neither practicable nor wise, were in this committee, and they spared no effort and lost no opportunity to secure from Mr. Sherman a thorough and complete statement of his efforts and purposes concerning resumption. Mr. Sherman clearly showed to them the existing condition of the Treasury, and did not hesitate to say that he proposed to increase the coin reserve by the sale of bonds of some description or other, as authorized by law, to the amount of $50,000,000. He assured them that he could do it, and that the gold could be obtained and placed in the Treasury before the period fixed for resumption in specie to take effect. He also demonstrated to them that with the fifty millions added to the amount already accumulated, the Treasury would be stronger than was the Bank of England when it resumed in 1819, or had been since, although that bank had meanwhile maintained resumption; that it would be stronger in its reserves than either the Bank of France or the Imperial Bank of Germany; and the statements he presented, with the reasons given, were so explicit and satisfactory that they cleared away all doubts in the minds of those who favored resumption, and completely discomfitted the opponents of that measure. From the publication of the proceedings of that day the friends of resumption had no good reason to be discouraged

Following up the policy which he had indicated in these conferences, Mr. Sherman, four days later, invited several bankers and prominent men in New York to meet him in that city for the purpose of negotiating a sale of bonds for resumption purposes. It was the unanimous opinion of all the bankers present that no sale of four per cent. bonds for this purpose could be effected, and that it was useless to consider any such proposition. A representative of the national banks stated that he thought an arrangement could be made by which the banks might take fifty millions of 4½ per cent. bonds, to be paid for on the 1st of January, the Government to receive whatever the banks could get for the bonds; but they would give no guarantee that they would sell a single bond. Mr. Sherman replied that he had gone over there to sell fifty millions of bonds for resumption purposes, and that he proposed to do it; and, further, that if he could not sell the bonds to them he would try to get on without their help.

Receiving no better offer from the national banks, Mr. Sherman invited the members of the Rothschild syndicate to make an offer. He received from them a proposition to take fifty millions of the bonds at 100½; and this, receiving the approval of the President, was accepted; the representatives of the national banks recommending its acceptance most decidedly, as being better terms than they could offer.

The ability of the contracting parties to place the coin in the Treasury, as

proposed, could not be doubted; and from that day resumption was assured. Further efforts to repeal the law were abandoned, and the business of the country commenced to adjust itself on the assured basis of specie payments on and after January 1st, 1879.

Meanwhile, the enemies of Mr. Sherman had not been idle. Failing to discourage him in his effort to prepare the Treasury for resumption, and having, without effect, attributed to him the cause of every business disaster which occurred that year, they set out to implicate him in questionable transactions during the count of the Presidential vote in Louisiana. A committee of investigation was appointed by the House, and it is supposed that this committee, in some way, came in possession of what purported to be a letter from Mr. Sherman to two supervisors of elections in Louisiana, promising them, in case they stood by their returns and affidavits, that the coming Administration would see them suitably provided for outside of the State. Unless those affidavits and returns were known by Mr. Sherman to be false, there was nothing in the letter which he could wish to disown. The supervisors stood by their records, and soon after returning to their homes one of them was shot at midnight from the court-house of his own parish. A promise to provide for political friends for doing their duty in such a lawless society could hardly be considered an offense. But the alleged letter was never produced, nor was its identity ever established by any reputable witness; Mr. Sherman himself positively denied writing the letter, though unable to see any great harm in it, even if he had done so; and the committee, finding no evidence in any way implicating him, abandoned this line of investigation. This prosecution did not divert him from his financial schemes.

This successful sale of 4½ per cent. bonds for resumption clearly evinced faith in the credit of this country by shrewd bankers at home and in Europe, and this faith extended more and more throughout the entire Union. The bonds rapidly rose in value, carrying with them all other United States securities, and drawing up from behind them the four per cents, the sale of which had been very languid for several months. The sale of the latter bonds in open market was continued with more or less success during the remainder of the year.

Meanwhile the gold received for resumption accumulated in the Treasury; but the changing condition of the country and of the Treasury required much foresight, effort and good judgment on the part of Mr. Sherman to prevent any disorder in business or entanglements in public accounts. Every step that the laws would permit was taken to preserve intact, so far as possible, the resumption fund. On the 1st of January, about $25,000,000 of interest on the public debt, payable in gold coin, would fall due. The law having required the reserve fund to be kept in New York, Mr. Sherman determined that the payment of coin on account of interest should thereafter be also made only in that city; but permission was given the Sub-Treasury officers to pay the interest in legal-tender notes to parties who were willing to accept them. Arrangements were made with the several assay offices by which gold could be purchased for legal-tender notes; thus feeding the Treasury, to a certain extent, with gold bullion.

But the most important precaution that was taken to prevent any run upon the resumption fund was the arrangement by which the Government, to a certain extent, and for certain purposes, became a member of the New York Clearing House Association. Under this arrangement, in consideration of the Government's receiving and collecting its checks through the Clearing House, that body agreed to receive all balances due it at the counter of the Sub-Treasury, and to accept, in pay-

ment of Government checks or drafts of all descriptions, legal-tender notes. As all the interest checks and checks issued in payment of called bonds were, by law, payable in coin, this agreement on the part of the Clearing House, through which nearly all the checks passed, relieved the Treasury almost entirely from the necessity of making coin payments.

This necessity having been removed, there was no longer any particular reason for requiring the duties to be paid in coin, as required by law; and as after the 1st of January it was fair to presume that no distinction should be made between the several kinds of money in circulation, Mr. Sherman announced that after that period legal-tender notes would be received in payment of duty and redeemed at New York on Government account whenever it became necessary to do so.

Instructions were also given the Treasury, and other officers of the Department, to close up in their accounts all distinctions between coin and currency, and after January to recognize in the accounts, as well as in the money, that the Government had resumed specie payments, and that no difference in values existed between the several kinds of money in circulation.

Having done this, having taken every precaution which human foresight could suggest to fortify the resumption reserve, and having pre-arranged the business of the Government so that it could easily glide into a coin channel, Mr. Sherman awaited the result, not without some anxiety, lest, after all the pains taken, the effort should prove futile and resumption a failure.

The 1st of January, however, came; the New York Sub-Treasury opened, but no one appeared to demand coin for his legal-tender notes. The celebrated financier, who, a few months before, had said that he would give $50,000 to be at the head of the line on that New Years' day, could have had the whole line to himself for nothing. Later in the day a few stragglers asked for coin, but many more brought coin, or coin obligations, and asked to have them paid in legal-tender notes; so that at the close of the day the Government actually held more coin than it did in the morning; and this increase of the coin reserve at the expense of the currency in the Treasury has increased from day to day ever since.

The triumph of this policy of resumption was complete and satisfactory. In its success was found an answer to all the prophecies of evil and a complete vindication of the superior judgment of Mr. Sherman. The confident prediction that resumption would bring financial ruin proved false, for with every step taken to that end business had improved and failures become less frequent. Those who think that resumption came of itself are not those who were intimately associated with Mr. Sherman and conversant with the difficulties that he had to overcome, the interests he had to conciliate, and the political opposition he met even within his own party, where it was not good policy to have contention. The Board of Trade in New York recognized his services in this achievement by authorizing his portrait to be hung upon the walls of their building, a compliment which had been bestowed upon no financier since the days of Alexander Hamilton.

It must be remembered that in making out and pursuing a line of resumption, Mr. Sherman was obliged to travel a new path, with no precedents of the past to guide him.

Heretofore, when the country had been through an era of depreciated paper, it was only depreciated bank paper, with the redemption of which the Government had nothing to do, the effort of getting back to specie payments being left for business men and bankers. But in this case the Government was obliged to

provide for the redemption in coin of nearly three hundred and fifty millions of its notes; and the success of any policy under which this could be done depended entirely upon the skill, the energy and good judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, and no amount of equivocation, or of attributing success to good crops, or to our unexampled exportation of manufactured goods, ever can or should divert from Mr Sherman the praise that is due him for the manly courage and great sagacity with which all his efforts were carried to success.

But while the country was standing on tiptoe, awaiting the result of the resumption policy, Mr. Sherman had not for a moment abated his efforts in refunding; and on the first day of January, the day on which resumption went into effect, he issued a circular, again offering to the public the four per cents, offering to receive subscriptions at all the Sub-Treasury offices, and inviting all the national banks to become depositaries for this purpose, and all the banks and bankers to aid him in their sale. The premium on gold having disappeared with resumption, American investors could now purchase four per cents without the loss of the premium which they had heretofore suffered; and the grand triumph of resumption brought the credit of the country to such a condition that the sale of four per cents during the month of January were more than a hundred and fifty millions, against twenty-five millions during the preceding month. Many national banks, which had heretofore stood aloof and rendered no aid in placing the loan, came forward and asked to be designated as depositaries, also invited and urged their customers to subscribe, and the loan thus became distributed among small investors throughout the whole country. To secure such a distribution of the loan had always been the purpose of Mr. Sherman; and with that purpose in view he had, as soon as it was practicable to do so, dispensed with the services of a syndicate and thrown open to all banks upon the same terms the privilege of taking this loan. It should be stated, however, that the immense sales of these bonds, requiring the calling in of an equal amount of outstanding six per cents, many of which were held in Europe, whither coin had to be shipped for their payment, were beginning to cause some disturbance in the exchanges of the country and to unsettle business.

To obviate this difficulty, Mr. Sherman concluded a contract on the 21st of January with an European syndicate, by which five millions a month would be taken in England, that being deemed sufficient to prevent the shipment of gold to this country to pay for the called bonds; and this policy proved to be sound. So rapid had become the sale of the bonds, that, on March 4th, Mr. Sherman announced that when enough four per cents had been sold to redeem the outstanding uncalled six per cent. bonds (then about ninety millions), future sales would be probably made upon terms less favorable to purchasers than those offered in his circular of January 1st, 1879.

Owing to apprehensions that the settlements for the bonds sold in January, which would become due in April, might cause embarrassment in the money market, the sale of the bonds in March largely fell off, and the market value of the four per cents considerably depreciated; so much so, that the European syndicate, on the 28th of March, asked for an extension of the time in which they should take the next allotment of bonds, and this extension was granted for a few days.

The facilities for the settlement for the bonds had, however, been so perfected that the settlements were made without any disturbance in the money market. Thus assured, the market stiffened, and on the 1st of April subscriptions again began to increase, and the value of the bonds to appreciate.

On the 4th of that month, while Mr. Sherman was at a Cabinet meeting, a dispatch was received from the National Bank of Commerce, New York, subscribing for forty million dollars of the bonds. The dispatch was immediately sent to him; but the amount was so large that, before taking any action, he required a repetition of the dispatch. With the repetition came a subscription from another bank of ten millions, another one of two millions, two more of twenty-five millions, and another of thirty millions. Sixty millions were accepted, and sixty millions more rejected as having come too late.

The foresight of Mr. Sherman, in announcing that when the six per cents had all been called, terms more favorable to the Government would then be required in the sales of additional four per cents, was clearly shown, and, as subsequent events proved, was of great value to the Government. Not only had Mr. Sherman been pushing the sale of the four per cent. bonds, but he had, meanwhile, been setting on foot other schemes for securing the refunding of the public debt. In his annual report of December, 1878, he recommended to Congress that authority be granted to issue certificates of the denomination of ten dollars, which should be convertible by the Treasurer at any time into four per cent. bonds. He believed that in this way a further distribution of the loan among small holders would be accomplished. Congress, in February, 1879, in compliance with his recommendation, authorized the issue of such certificates, and, on the 12th of the following month, Mr. Sherman was able to announce that the certificates in question had been prepared, and that subscriptions for them would be received. All possible means were taken to popularize and distribute these certificates, but the depreciation of the bonds into which they were convertible during that month prevented the sale of them as rapidly as could be wished. But when enough certificates and bonds had been sold to cover the outstanding six per cents, their sale was suspended, together with the sale of the bonds, as provided by the announcement of March 4. Immediately upon the suspension of the sale of the certificates and bonds as here stated, Mr. Sherman began to consider in what way he could best advance the price of the bonds, and to what extent he could do so without wholly checking their sale. The large subscriptions of the first four days of the month induced him to believe that the bonds could be sold slightly above par, and with less commission to the purchasers. Upon consulting, however, with prominent financial men in New York, with members of both Houses of Congress, and with the Cabinet, he received but little encouragement in his declared purpose to advance the price of the bonds. It was generally thought that the sale of four per cents at par was as low as could be expected in this country, and that the Secretary had better "let well enough alone," and secure, while it was possible, the advantages which would accrue from placing them at par. Mr. Sherman, however, firmly believed that an advance should be made; and, accordingly, on April 16th, he offered to the public one hundred and fifty millions of the four per cent. loan, at a premium of one-half of one per cent. above par, and, in addition thereto, abount forty-five millions of the refunding certificates; the proceeds of the whole being deemed sufficient to redeem the outstanding ten-forty bonds, which were all the bonds redeemable at that time.

This step of advancing the price of the bonds in opposition to the judgment of so many men, eminent men, was not taken without some hesitancy and doubt as to the result; and the country could well have justified Mr. Sherman in confining himself to the successful policy heretofore pursued of selling them at par.

A step of this kind once taken can not be retracted; and a failure to sell the bonds at an advanced price could only have resulted in a diminution of the prestige of Mr. Sherman as a financier, and in the embarrassment of the refunding operations of the Government. Due regard was paid to these considerations, but the announcement was issued and given to the press by noon of the 16th. To the gratification of Mr. Sherman, and somewhat to his surprise, before the close of business that day, a subscription for two millions of bonds on the terms just prescribed was received, and it began to look as if the whole loan might be taken at once.

The next morning, however, came without additional subscriptions; but later in the day came a subscription from New York for ten million dollars, which was followed by others, for one million, two millions, and four millions, respectively, and others for still smaller amounts. Just before the close of business on that day, a subscription was received from the First National Bank of New York, representing a large number of private bankers in that city, for the entire amount of bonds offered and forty millions of the refunding certificates. Thus the whole loan was sold in one day, and seventy-five millions of additional subscriptions, coming too late, were declined.

Is it any wonder that Mr. Sherman telegraphed to New York that night that the subscriptions staggered him, and he would like to know if they were all crazy?

The subscriptions for the forty millions of certificates was absolutely rejected, however, Mr. Sherman desiring that a further effort be made to place these certificates directly among the people.

The sale of all the four per cents offered being concluded, no further refunding operation could be carried on, except the sale of the certificates; and, feeling assured that these could be sold, a call was made for the entire outstanding ten-forty loan.

Under the terms of the act authorizing the issue of the certificates, the latter could only be exchanged at par for lawful money. This restriction could not be overcome, and so the certificates had to be issued at par, although the bonds into which they were convertible had been sold, and were selling at an advance.

This condition of affairs rendered the certificates extremely desirable, and schemes were set on foot by bankers, brokers and interested parties, to secure these certificates for immediate conversion into four per cents. Every possible precaution was taken against such combinations. Postmasters of money order offices, and all other officers of the Government, were requested to bond and apply for these certificates; and nearly seven hundred complied. The certificates were, in this way, sent into almost every State and Territory of the Union for distribution. About forty millions of them were thus sold, and the money returned to the Treasury without loss or embarrassment. With this transaction, Mr. Sherman concluded the refunding operations.

During his two years at the head of the Treasury Department he has refunded nearly eight hundred and fifty millions of the public debt, making a saving in annual interest of nearly $15,000,000 per annum.

While engaged in the great work of securing the resumption of specie payments, and of refunding the national debt at the lowest possible rate of interest, Secretary Sherman has administered the multifarious duties of the Treasury Department with great executive ability, decision and promptness. Each official has been held strictly responsible for his own acts and for the acts of his subordinates, and the

same economy has been introduced and enforced that should characterize a well managed private mercantile or manufacturing establishment. While conferring with the bankers of New York who represent the financial magnates of the world, or answering the varied inquiries concerning the monetary affairs of the General Government propounded by Congressional committees, Secretary Sherman has carefully watched over the national loans, the collection of customs, the national banking system, the collection of internal revenue duties, the disbursements of public moneys, the printing of notes and bonds, the light-houses on the coast and the lakes, the coast surveys, the revenue marine, the life-saving service, the national mint, and the other subdivisions of the Treasury Department. In each one of these branches of the public service, several of which extend over the whole Union, retrenchment and reform has been prosecuted,—supernumaries have been weeded out,—the claims of rival candidates for promotion or appointment have been carefully weighed, and the working of the Treasury Department as an important branch of the National Government have been simplified, reformed and perfected.

Such are the prominent events in the life of John Sherman—a life which represents the growth and the capacities of man, under the free institutions of this Republic. From the school-room to the court-house, the Capital, and the Treasury Department, he has done his duty with ability and with fidelity. Self-reliant, he has risen by the firmness of his character and the brilliancy of his intellect to the high position first graced by Hamilton. An accomplished scholar, a learned lawyer, a fearless and enlightened legislator, a far-seeing and upright member of the Cabinet, an honorable gentleman in private life, and a confiding friend, he has ever been noted for his comprehensive intellect, his conscientious integrity, and his adherence to those conservative and constitutional principles of Government, which secure to every citizen his rights, and to every section its equal consideration under the administration of just laws. The dark corruptions of the war-epoch have never clouded his reputation, nor has any tongue ever ventured to impeach his honor, for his life has been pure and unsullied, while it has been brilliant and useful.

Mr. Sherman is now in the prime of manhood—tall, firmly built, yet graceful in his movements, and capable of great endurance. His features are expressive, and there is a good-humored twinkle in his bluish gray eyes, while his forehead and the lower portion of his face indicate positive determination and adherence. His style of oratory is colloquial and convincing, a vein of practical common sense running through its series of arguments until a convincing conclusion is reached. The rapidity with which he takes up the strong points of a case and successively disposes of them, renders him a formidable adversary in debate. Careful not to infringe upon the rights, or to wound the feelings of others, he demands in return from others perfect respect toward himself.

The National Republican Convention, which is to meet at Chicago in June, should nominate for President of the United States a man capable of surveying the whole field connected with the interests of the country, who can furnish Congress with the information called for by the Constitution, and can make such recommendations as will be of practical value in shaping legislation;—a man of the people, who has been the architect of his own fortunes, upon whose public and personal record there rests no stain;—a man who has been tested by honorably filling high positions, and who is thoroughly acquainted with our machinery of

government;—a man whose life, whose principles, whose speeches and whose character are filled with humanity;—a man whose nomination must strengthen and consolidate the Republican party. If the Convention seeks such a man, let it nominate one whose name is familiar to every intelligent citizen of the Union, as having maintained its credit in dark hours and successfully restored specie payments. Let them nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.

The nomination of Mr. Sherman in June will result in his triumphant election by the voters of the United States in November. His patriotism, his ability, his private virtues, and his public services, will command him the hearty support of every true Republican, of every friend of good administration, of every lover of honest money. With him as a candidate, the Republican party can receive no assault which can dim the glory of the past or impede the progress of the future. His triumph will be the triumph of Union and liberty, of the rights of the people, of the prosperity and the glory of the Republic.

With John Sherman as President, the United States would have a Government whose intercourse with other nations would be marked with that high degree of international justice which would neither do or tolerate wrong; a Government which would be administered at home by sound and pure men, who would regard offices as solemn trusts, and not as partisan spoils; a Government marked by a lofty tone of public morality, mild yet efficient, conservative yet liberal; a Government which would maintain the rights of the humblest citizens, and would seek the advancement of American industry and the extension of American markets; a Government under which Republican principles would be predominant through the length and the breadth of the land; a Government under which our beloved country would advance rapidly in the highway of prosperity. honor, happiness, and glory.

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